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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIME.

BY HENRY WOOD.

EVERY outward manifestation is a harvest. No full-fledged or overt act takes place that is not the lawful sequence of previous incubation, nourishment, and growth. When a criminal offence "happens," the usual concern is only with the event, its details, and the adequate punishment of the offender. The act is vividly outlined, its heinous features are analyzed, the guilt of its supposed author is passed upon, and a demand is made for the enforcement of the proper penalty. This comprises all that society feels called upon to do in the premises. A blow has been dealt to the community, in one of its parts, and the community deals a proportionate one in return, and thus the transaction is closed and the books are balanced. Possibly some "motive" may be discovered, which forms the last or immediate step behind the act, but further back, or in broader scope, neither general nor special investigation is thought necessary.

While the deeper research may not be practicable officially, it is of great importance that there should be a more general and intelligent appreciation of the processes through which crime and disorder are generated. The superficial and objective spirit of our western civilization is unfavorable for a thorough study of primary and subjective causation. The Within that finds expression in the Without lies hidden away from the popular gaze, and only through some application of psychological law can it be clearly interpreted.

No criminal motive ever grows in weight so that it finally preponderates, except by slow and intangible accretions. However spontaneous or impulsive any given offence may appear, in its method, the foundation upon which it rears itself has been slowly formed from a variety of sediment. The great lesson of modern science is that nothing "happens." Everything that comes is pushed from behind. This philosophy, which is accepted by all careful thinkers, and perhaps theoretically by a wider circle, is yet far from being acknowledged as a practical truism. We live under an economy of law absolutely universal in its scope; but while no chain of detail includes the least element of chance, there is no fatalism involved in this perfect order. On the contrary, all real freedom comes only from its aid, and through intelligent conformity. Law is always in readiness to serve us, but we must adopt its methods.

There is no pessimism involved in a study of the generation of crime, for the very laws and forces which by abnormal use bring it into expression, are abundantly potent, when rightly used, for the production of its normal and wholesome opposites. While recognizing an upward trend as broad as humanity, and an optimism which views "evil" only as a subjective condition, yet it is evident that there are operative, at the present time, special forces that directly germinate crime and disorder. It is said that about seven thousand murders have taken place within the limits of the United States during the last year, and offences of lesser degree have been so numerous that even an approximate estimate can hardly be formed. However, we are dealing not with statistics but principles.

The luxury and artificialism of our modern civilization, the struggle for wealth and social position, the pursuit of sensuous gratification — all of these are powerful factors which disintegrate character, obscure high ideals, and bring disorder and abnormality into overt manifestation. But perhaps a more potent element of demoralization than any of those above enumerated, is found in the deluge of delineated criminality and other morbid reading matter, in which the community mentally dwells, the malaria of which it is constantly inhaling. This great, unceasing supply of unsound mental pabulum comes in the forms of offensive sensationalism in the daily press, flashy illustrated weeklies, and the

cheap "blood and thunder" fiction which is devoured in unlimited quantities by youthful and immature minds.

That a large ratio of space in the great dailies is crowded with matter that in varying degree may be classed as abnormal and unwholesome, is a palpable and unquestioned fact. It is also quite unnecessary to prove the existence of the flashy illustrated weeklies. Their numbers and suggestiveness are evidenced by the gaping crowds always seen gathered about the news-shop windows, gazing at pictorial representations which are as near the border line of indecency as it is possible to be and escape the law. The world is full of "suggestion" of every quality. That which is distinctively classed as "hypnotic" is, in quantity, but "a drop in the bucket" when compared with the every-day variety.

The sediment which settles from all these turbid agitations furnishes the soil out of which murders, suicides, sexual immoralities, thefts, and numberless other disorders are the continual growth and fruitage. If unsound meat or decayed vegetables are palmed off upon the public, the guilty offender is arrested and punished; but youthful and pure consciousness may be invaded and poisoned, and all is taken as a matter of course. Society concerns itself considerably with the punishment of crime, but very little with its prevention. The punishment for overt criminality is conventionally supposed to act as a powerful deterrent, but it has only a limited power in that direction. While government — or organized society — cannot take legal cognizance of anything less than overt acts, it is important that there should be a general and intelligent knowledge of the constructive process through which criminals are made. They do not come by chance, but grow, and their growth is through suggestion. The immediate psychical impulse which precedes the overt act is but one link in a chain which reaches back indefinitely.

Society in general is responsible for its criminality. Its criminals are not detached units on the outside, but rather eruptions from within. The circulation of the body politic is impure. Prevailing morbid thoughts and ideas naturally find embodiment, an illustrative specimen of which was seen in Guiteau, the slayer of President Garfield. As well cut off an occasional thistle head with the expectation of killing the crop, as hope to exterminate crime through the deterrent power of penalty.

The lack of moral and social progress is due to a prevailing sensuous superficiality, which concerns itself only with phenomena instead of deep causative forces. Criminality is purely expressive and symptomatic. The laws of mind are unswerving and exact. Mental conditions, including all qualities of thought and suggestion, tend to outward expression. To illustrate: An atrocious murder takes place. The daily press, by full detail and embellishment, graphically engraves it, with all its suggestiveness, upon the public consciousness. Its passion and abnormality are held up and analyzed until they permeate the whole psychic atmosphere. The criminal is surrounded by the halo of romance and the glamor of notoriety. His likeness is given a prominent place in a leading column, and is thus brought before the eyes of unnumbered thousands. And, recently, modern "enterprise" reproduces the whole scene—as supposed—not omitting the weapons. A mental picture of the *tout ensemble* is thus photographed upon all minds and memories. The details are read, reread, and discussed. Where there is any mind containing, in any degree, a chord of savagery, animalism, or morbidity, it is stirred into corresponding vibration. Possibly some, who have been near the verge of a similar act, are pushed over the line. But no one escapes untarnished. The soundest and sanest minds cannot thus have the imaging faculty tampered with, without some deterioration, even though it be unconscious.

In the evolutionary transition from primeval or animal man to humanity, there has been brought over a large residuum of animality, and this forms a kind of false self which is stirred and stimulated by outward morbid suggestion. A pugilistic encounter, a street fight, or even a dog fight will, as if by magic, draw a crowd, much as a magnet will gather iron filings. In many cases a man seems to be but a thin veneer to the animal within, the latter often breaking through from outside suggestion. The occasional boy who starts out with hatchet and pistol to rob, or fight with Indians, as suggested by mental pictures drawn from the great juvenile library of "blood and thunder" fiction, only goes somewhat farther in the same direction than all other boys travel who live upon the same mental stimulant.

The Borden murder and trial furnished a striking illustration of the extent to which a single tragic event can fill the

public mind and consciousness. The official trial of the accused party was but little more exhaustive than thousands of unofficial trials which took place in drawing-rooms and business offices. But this is by no means solely the fault of publishers and editors. The public taste needs to be rectified. Every one who reads, dwells upon, and rehearses such a quality of thought, is in some measure responsible. All this is common, not because of any intention to give currency to that which is unwholesome, but from a lack of knowledge of psychological laws and the power of suggestion. A true understanding of mental philosophy is all that is needed. As soon as we intelligently grasp the laws of any force or thing, we have it not only under control but harnessed for use. The principles of suggestion, like edged tools, when rightly used are of wonderful utility. Its power to project high ideals is unlimited, but it recoils when misdirected.

The modern "daily" possesses a gigantic power to mould and color public consciousness, and its conduct involves a very grave responsibility, which its managers either lightly regard or are quite unaware of, but, after all, it is but an articulation of that which preponderates in human thought. A majority *want* sensationalism, and supply always responds to demand. But if rapid money making could be made secondary, the daily press would be an immense educational and uplifting force in society. In general observations, it would be unjust to intimate that all papers are on the same plane, for there are all grades and qualities. Principles only are here considered, and when once understood they will make their own application discriminately. The purveyors of the daily press cannot be expected to be disinterested philanthropists, more than other men, though their power is gigantic and their responsibility peculiar. As things are, the main hope for reform must begin with the public, or on the side of demand. The great need is a more intelligent understanding of the psychological laws of suggestion and subjective realism as causative forces. Results can only be modified through internal and underlying antecedents, and not by mere external repression.

The mechanical and news-gathering facilities of a great modern daily are marvellous. It is comparatively a new and unprecedented force, for no former period can be compared

with it. But, gentlemen of the daily press, why is it that under the plea of "enterprise" or giving "the news," a murder in California, a robbery in Arkansas, or some nameless outrage in Alabama should be put in thought pictures, framed, and hung up in the mental chambers of millions, where high ideals are scarce for lack of room? Why should the horrors of lynchings, the morbidity of suicides, or even the details of catastrophes be branded upon thousands of sensitive souls where their scars will be indelible? A material photograph may be destroyed in an instant, while an immaterial one, printed by the imaging faculty, may remain for a lifetime, often forcing its way into the consciousness uncalled for or even when forbidden.

When the wise man uttered the familiar aphorism, "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he," he expressed not merely a moral maxim but a scientific truism. What men mentally dwell upon they become or grow like. Thought, even when centred upon a non-entity, in proportion to its intensity and continuity, confers subjective realism. Not by chance but by law, each mental delineation leaves its distinctive hue in the grand composite which makes up character. The undisciplined thinking faculty has a sponge-like absorbability of the medium which surrounds it, and only by systematic idealism can it be trained to close its avenues against discordant and depressing environment. Thought projected in specific directions soon forms its own channels, which are rapidly deepened by habit. When turned upon the pure, the true, and the beautiful, these positives soon cast out their negative opposites. When Paul urged the importance of thinking upon "these things," he showed himself to be a metaphysician and scientist as well as a religious apostle.

The quality of thinking determines consciousness, and consciousness forms character. Character is, therefore, nothing more nor less than a habitual quality of consciousness. It is often supposed to consist of action, but it is that which is back of action. Any demoralization which comes from without does not come direct, but from the sympathetic vibration of corresponding unisons within. Action is often temporarily modified from motives of outward policy, but its constant effort is to become a true copy of the inner pattern.

The scientific way to destroy evil is not to hold it up and analyze it in order to make it hateful, but rather to put it

out of the consciousness. To the degree that one does not see it, to him it becomes non-existent, because there is nothing to arouse its vibrations within. But it is important to remember that evil is real only as a subjective condition.

Whether or not we so wish, we are modified by every picture thrown upon the mental canvas. No matter to what extent one may detest a crime, he cannot immerse his consciousness in its turbid waves without taking on some of its slime and sediment.

But outside of what is distinctively classed as crime, the outpieturing of everything of a negative or inharmonious nature is unprofitable. The frictions, accidents, discords, and every other lack of harmony, of whatever name, occupy room in the consciousness which is of value. A thousand objective normal human developments attract no attention, while the single abnormality is put in the lens and thrown upon the screen. Its kind is thereby propagated. Occasional "outs" are made so important that they almost appear to be the rule. Reform will come only so fast as the necessity for more ideal mental pictures is appreciated. All real entities were formed by the Creator, and all are good, so that the abnormal when displaced from the human consciousness finds no resting place.

The real world we dwell in is our thought world, rather than the material objects which surround us. The color of all outward environment depends upon the glasses through which we view it. The human consciousness is like an endless corridor in a picture gallery, each visitor executing and hanging his own works of art. His preference is determined by the character of those before which he lingers.

A READY FINANCIAL RELIEF.

BY W. H. VAN ORNUM.

It is daily becoming more and more evident that whatever relief is to be hoped for from the present condition of financial stringency and business stagnation, must come from the efforts of business men themselves, and not from any action of either Congress or the bankers. Even if the wisest laws should be adopted at the coming session of Congress, it will take months to bring them into operation so as to afford any relief, during which time thousands of fortunes will be wrecked and the present hard times be intensified. But there is slight reason to expect even wise legislation. Every change in the law always affects, favorably or unfavorably, great private or corporate interests, which seek to protect themselves by every means possible, regardless of all others. Thus any attempted legislation, in any direction, must bring about a clash of these rival interests, in which the interests of the people will become of secondary consideration. Under the influence of these clashing elements, often wholly unscrupulous as to the means they adopt to further their ends, the chances for the enactment of wise laws are reduced to a minimum. In view of these facts it becomes perfectly evident that those representing the real business interests of the country must look to themselves for whatever relief is to be found.

It is just as evident that our trouble arises wholly from a want of currency with which to do the business of the country. Either one or the other of two things is true—there is not enough currency in existence, or else it is so controlled as to prevent its circulating and performing its proper functions. It is of no consequence which of these must bear the blame. In either case our financial system is at fault. Business men cannot obtain their accustomed accommodation at the banks, no matter what amount of collateral they may have, so that failures are reported every

day where the assets greatly exceed the liabilities.* Even the banks suffer from the same cause. It is a remarkable feature of the present crisis that probably a majority of the failed banks have gone under from no fault in their business methods, as banks go, but because of inability to realize on assets in time to meet demands; in other words, from a want of currency. I think it is easily demonstrable that the present financial crisis—and probably all others which have ever existed—comes from inherent faults in the system of banking itself and from a false basis of currency.

The first step in the treatment of any case is the diagnosis. Let us see what a diagnosis will give as to the nature and function of money, and the cause of its scarcity. Money—stripped of all its excrescences, such as “standard of value,” “intrinsic” or commodity value, etc., which are but reminders and remainders of the time when all exchange was a barter exchange—is purely a certificate of credit, which certifies to the world that the holder is entitled to take just so much of the goods of the world as that certificate calls for, at his own option. The value of the certificate depends wholly upon the certainty of its being honored, and not upon the material of which it is composed. It may be stamped upon a piece of metal or printed upon a piece of paper. It adds nothing to the value of the credit to make the certificate itself expensive. A bank check calls for a certain amount of money specified in its face. It would not bring any more if the check was made of gold. It would only add to the expense of business to decree that all checks should be stamped upon gold pieces.

In the function that money performs, it is a tool or implement of trade, an indispensable tool, which facilitates exchange and avoids the inconvenience and expense of a barter exchange. Whenever any person or class is given a monopoly in its production or management, it becomes possible for that person or class to lay an embargo upon trade for the time being. When they say “No,” it cannot be conducted, for want of the necessary tools.

* The Chicago *Tribune* of July 21 contained the following in its financial article:—“So far as the local situation is concerned it is practically just what it has been for some days. There is no money market. No loans are made as merely a matter of business because a man wants to borrow money and has proper collateral to offer as security. Bank accommodations are to be had only by those people who have special claims, and the mere offering of ample security will by no means bring out a loan. Money is just as tight as it has been at any time, nor is there any immediate prospect of an improvement in that direction. It seems certain that we will turn into August with the situation quite as stringent as it was at the beginning of July.”

By making the production of money a government function, it is brought at once within the domain of politics, and subjected to all the influences which control politics. Then where there is a separate class whose business it is to deal in money, the members of which, as a class, are not engaged in the production or exchange of wealth, and therefore are not the ones who must use it in its proper function, and whose interest it is to limit the supply in order to increase the price, the foundation is laid for all the abuses of currency manipulation. The present currency is issued by the government, based upon its own power to compel the people to honor its certificates, instead of by the people who are to use those certificates, based upon their own abilities and interests to honor them. It represents force instead of co-operative interest and ability.

Now let us see where the fault is in the system of banking. A merchant or manufacturer must have ready at hand at all times, a certain amount of currency to meet the requirements of his trade, according to its character and volume. But he must have some place of safe-keeping, which is also convenient in paying it out on account. For that reason he deposits it in the bank, against which deposit he draws his checks from time to time as required. The things which he seeks are security for his funds and facility in payment. But in order to get these he runs the risk of losing his money. He, in effect, says to the banker: "I do not wish to use this money just now. I will let you take it and use it in your business until I want it. I will not exact any security from you. You may speculate with it as you like. All I ask is that you give me the facilities that I require." Sometimes the banks do allow a small rate of interest; but that amounts to an added stimulus to the banker to take risks with the customer's money in order to realize a profit. In this way bankers are enabled to borrow, often many times over the amount of capital invested by themselves in business, to enable them to carry on speculations for their own profit, and without giving the slightest security. Here is the greatest possible temptation to those who are inclined to be dishonest, to carry out their inclinations.

But aside from any question of dishonesty, the banker is expected to make use of a large proportion of his deposits in order to bring profit to himself. That is his capital in busi-

ness. It is manifest that the safety of even the best-managed banks depends upon the continuance of the public confidence, so that they are not called upon to restore, all at once, the capital they have borrowed as deposits. But along with this condition go others which are certain to shake that confidence and bring about that demand. The unwise basis of the currency itself, which has already been mentioned, makes manipulations of it possible through the concerted action of large banking institutions, aided by political allies, by locking up money in aid of stock and other speculations, so that a condition of stringency can be produced at will, to the serious embarrassment of business. If, at a time of such tension, a few banking houses are forced under, alarm is awakened, and men rush to get their money, perhaps to find that it is not there. The bankers have done just what, in effect, the depositors told them they might do—used it in their business. That element which is always present to an extent, the dishonest and fraudulent bank, is only so much more tinder to hasten the conflagration. The conditions are all there for a great fire, and the only question ever is, how long it will be delayed.

In view of these facts, it is plain that no act of Congress can possibly bring the slightest relief from the present financial stringency. The evil is too deep seated to be reached by any tinkering with remonetization of silver, gold bond issues, repeal of the Sherman Act, or any other measure. Financial panics have occurred at irregular but short intervals for the last five hundred years in every civilized country in the world, and will continue under any government control, no matter what form of currency may be authorized by governments, and so long as the present system of banking prevails.

But why should business men depend upon government to furnish or sanction any particular form of currency? And why should they continue to furnish capital to the banks, without security, on which to carry on their speculations, at the customers' risk and the bankers' profit? It is entirely unnecessary. So far as a currency goes, the New York and Chicago clearing houses have recently set an example which business men ought not to be slow to follow. They have put out, for temporary purposes, clearing-house certificates, some say as high as \$23,000,000 in New York alone, which

are only certificates of credit, having the backing of the associated banks, and which are perfectly good, so far as they go, for all purposes of money.

There is nothing to hinder business men from doing the same thing. They can form mutual associations for their own convenience and credit, to facilitate their own business. Each member can be rated for credit according to his financial ability or business probity, being guided by the same considerations as now enable the banks to determine the credit of customers. Then let the association issue to each member respectively certificates of credit, in denominations corresponding to the present paper currency, to the full amount of the credit allowed, which will circulate as money, backed by the credit of the whole association. These certificates should show that they are receivable by any member of the association, for all bills or accounts due such members, and in payment for all services rendered or goods purchased; in short, let every member guarantee to receive and treat them precisely like any other money. The association will constitute a co-operative bank for the benefit of its members, in which the certificates of credit will be deposited, to be checked against or added to in new deposits like any other bank account. The bank, being for the mutual convenience of its members, need not and ought not to make a profit. It should discount no notes, deal in no securities, exact no interest, or in any way risk the money of its members. For the running expenses, each member should pay enough to cover the cost of the individual service to him, which can be based upon the volume of his credits; and in an association of even moderate proportions, that need not exceed a very small part of one per cent annually.

There is no reason why an association of merchants, manufacturers, and other business and professional men should not be able to do what an association of bankers can do. And if the issue of certificates of credit by the bankers is good as a temporary convenience, there seems to be no reason why the same thing is not equally good as a permanent arrangement, when done by the men themselves who are to use them. In fact, this furnishes a key to the solution of the whole financial question.

An association in any city or town may quickly be extended to include every business or profession of any

importance in that town. The larger the association, the more generally confidence will be inspired and its certificates will circulate. The less, too, will be the proportion of its running expenses to its volume of business. It will place the currency beyond the power of any combination whatever to manipulate it for speculative or other purposes. It will remove all the objectionable features of the present banking system. Every man's deposit will be inviolate, remaining to his own credit in the bank until he uses it himself. No man will have occasion to discount his own note, because, if it is good, he will be able to get the currency on it without interest or discount. There can never arise any financial stringency, because the volume of the currency will always keep pace with the needs of trade. It will relieve business of the terrible incubus of interest, which amounts to an enormous tax, hampering it in a thousand ways; and will completely do away with "wild cat" banks and banking. It will do away with the bad and uncertain features of the credit system, abolish promiscuous credits, and reduce trade practically to a cash basis, while avoiding the harsh features of a strictly-cash system. If a man is entitled to credit, he will be able to get it in certificates, which he can use as cash in all purchases.

Other advantages which these associations will possess are, that they can be started as easily as Building and Loan Associations can be, and their workings will be quite as simple. They do not depend upon any act of Congress or the administration to make them practical. It is not even necessary to obtain a state charter; in fact, it is better not to have one. By organizing under a state law it may be considered a state bank, and so brought under the Act of Congress levying a tax of ten per cent upon state bank issues. By organizing as a co-operative association without charter, it will stand on the same footing as a private partnership for specific purposes, with each member as a partner. The association (or firm) has a perfect right to issue its firm notes to the members of that association if it chooses, and on such terms as it chooses. Whatever the members of the firm do with those notes the association has no concern. The association itself will have no dealings with the community at large, and therefore will not be liable to the ten per cent tax. The only advantage which a charter can confer is to

limit the liability. But an association should seek to strengthen the liability, in order to give greater confidence in its currency, so that, if people go about it in a proper way, they can begin issuing their certificates within thirty days; and relief from hard times will date from that moment.

The formation of one such association will quickly be followed by others all over the country; and almost immediately the prevailing hard times will be relieved in a permanent and satisfactory way. Then Congress may pass whatever laws it pleases bearing upon the present bankers' currency. It may make it plenty or scarce, high priced or low. It may establish an exclusive gold basis, or restore silver to its ancient position in the coinage. It will not affect these associations one whit. No one will be obliged to take the bankers' money for ordinary purposes if he does not wish to, because he can get other just as good, at least, and cheaper. For extraordinary purposes, such as where contracts have been made stipulating that payments are to be made in gold, it is only necessary to point out that the general adoption of this plan will reduce the demand for gold, as a currency, almost to zero, and so cheapen its price and make it easier to obtain than now.

Among the farmers there is a demand for government loans at two per cent on the security of their farms and products. But what is much better, let the farmers form associations of this kind, with such business men of their towns as they wish to do business with, and then establish exchange relations with other associations in the cities, so that their certificates will circulate generally and buy everything that they want, which will give them money without any interest at all, and without waiting to force concessions from unwilling politicians and money mongers. They do not need to wait to secure control of the government before they can obtain even better than their sub-treasury scheme.

Already steps are being taken in Chicago for the establishment of such an association, and it is meeting with remarkable success. It is expected that within a few weeks, at most, it will be in full operation. It has received very slight notice from the daily press, because that press is so largely under the influence of existing banking interests.

But many of the trade and farm papers have taken it up warmly, and are using their columns freely to promote it. They recognize that it will not only end our present financial troubles, but prevent a recurrence of them by removing the causes which produce financial disturbances.

It is not expected that all this will be brought about without a struggle. Already the epithet "wild cat" has been hurled at the scheme, but it does not stick. And besides, the present panic has uncovered too many wild cats among existing or recent banks for this to have much force as an argument against reform. But one thing is certain, that the plan is so simple and easy of application, and the reform is so sweeping, that men recognize that it is worth trying. Not the least among the benefits to be derived is that men will be taught to look to their own efforts for relief from evils, instead of depending upon a lot of politicians, called government, to obtain it for them.

JUDGE GARY AND THE ANARCHISTS.

BY M. M. TRUMBULL.

AFTER the so-called Chicago anarchists have been six years in the grave, Judge Gary grants them a new trial, in a forum of his own selection, *The Century Magazine*. In this new trial he performs all the duties of judge, jury, prosecuting attorney and sole witness. In each and every character he is consistently partial, prejudiced, and unfair. He is always against the prisoners.

Whether it was remorse or politics or self defence that inspired the article, matters not, but it must have been a strong motive, because it is not usual for judges, after punishing men with death, to try them over again in a pictorial magazine, and such a novelty is a breach of judicial decorum that goes far to justify a suspicion that the original trial was not fair.

In this *post mortem* trial, Judge Gary appears as a witness knowing that he is exempt from the test of cross examination. He is not sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He is privileged to tell just as much and as little of the truth as may please him, and to tell it in his own way.

If Judge Gary desired candidly to invoke the calm judgment of his readers, why did he try to move their feelings by sensational pictures? What use other than to excite the emotions could he have had for those theatrical bits of art, "The Jury Going to the Court House," "Turning back the Anarchists," "Captain Ward Commands the Crowd to Disperse," "The Monument to the Martyred Police," and all the rest of it? Why divert the attention by portraits, especially the portraits of seven bombs, two of them "poisoned bombs"? Judge Gary finds it easier to inflame the passions than to convince the judgment, and therefore he imitates the lawyer-like tactics adopted by the prosecution at the trial.

Explaining his reasons for writing the article, Judge Gary says:—

The motive, then, or at least the principal motive, of this paper is to demonstrate to my own profession, and to make plain to all fair-minded, intelligent people, that the verdict of the jury in the case of the anarchists was right; that the anarchists were guilty of murder; that they were not the victims of prejudice, nor martyrs for free speech, but in morals as well as in law were guilty of murder.

Therein is an unfortunate admission that after having had seven years to think of it, the bar of Illinois is not satisfied that the verdict was right; and as nobody else will do it, the hard necessity is thrown upon Judge Gary himself to "demonstrate" in a magazine article to his own profession that the anarchists were guilty of murder. This is a humiliation to which no other judge has descended in our time.

Before Judge Gary can "demonstrate" anything, he must first reverse himself, and contradict this letter which he wrote to the governor of Illinois:—

CHICAGO, Ill., Nov. 8, 1887.

To the Honorable Richard F. Oglesby, Governor, etc.

SIR: On the application of Samuel Fielden for a commutation of his sentence, it is not necessary as to the case itself that I should do more than refer to the decision of the Supreme Court for a history of his crime.

Outside of what is there shown, there is in the nature and private character of the man, a natural love of justice, an impatience at all undeserved suffering, an impulsive temper, and an intense love of and thirst for the applause of his hearers made him an advocate of force as a heroic remedy for the hardship that the poor endure. In his own private life he was the honest, industrious, and peaceable laboring man.

In what he said in court before sentence he was respectful and decorous. His language and conduct since have been irreproachable. As there is no evidence that he knew of any preparation to do the specific act of throwing the bomb that killed Degan, he does not understand even now that general advice to large masses to do violence makes him responsible for the violence done by reason of that advice, nor that being joined by others in an effort to subvert law and order by force makes him responsible for the acts of those others tending to make that effort effectual.

In short, he was more a misguided enthusiast than a criminal, conscious of the horrible nature and effect of his teachings, and of his responsibility therefor. What shall be done in his case is partly a question of humanity and partly a question of state policy, upon which it seems to me action on the part of your excellency favorable to him is justifiable.

I attach this to a copy of his petition to your excellency, and refer to that for what he says of the change that has come upon himself.

Respectfully yours, etc.,

JOSEPH E. GARY.

The condemnation of Judge Gary lies in the words, "*There is no evidence that he knew of any preparation to do the specific act of throwing the bomb that killed Degan.*" Did the judge not know that when he overruled Fielden's motion for a new trial, and sentenced him to die upon the scaffold? Did he just find it out on Nov. 8, 1887? In that letter Judge Gary justifies and gives emphasis to all the censure that has been thrown upon him for his conduct at the trial. Why did he not give to the jury the opinion that he gave to the governor? That letter leaves nothing on which to base Fielden's conviction, except "general advice to large masses to do violence"; in other words, what in law is called "sedition." He was sentenced to death for what the Supreme Court, in affirming the sentence, called his "queer doctrines."

Fielden's exculpation covers all the others. It was a part of the case, and a very important part of it, that Fielden was the principal that fateful night, and the others his accomplices. He was actually speaking when the bomb was thrown; it was affirmed by witnesses that he said, "Kill the law, stab the law, throttle the law"; that when the police appeared he said, "Here come the bloodhounds, you do your duty and I will do mine"; that when the police captain gave the order to disperse, Fielden gave the signal for throwing the bomb, "We are peaceable," and immediately began firing his revolver at the police. More than that, it was made the excuse for the coming of the police, that after the mayor left the meeting, Fielden's talk became so inflammatory and dangerous that they were compelled to interfere. It was pretended that "peaceable" was equivalent to the German word "*Ruke*," and that "*Ruke*" was a call to arms.

That the excuse and the testimony were false is the tragic part of it. They were urged upon the jury as true by the prosecuting attorney, the jury accepted them as true, Judge Gary himself reasserted the truth of them when he overruled the motion for a new trial, and the Supreme Court in sustaining the judgment adopted the mistake. With deadly precision the Supreme Court proclaimed that there *was* evidence to show that Fielden had knowledge of the preparation to do the specific act of throwing the bomb; but Judge Gary, contradicting the Supreme Court, assured the governor that there was no such evidence.

The sophistry that convicted Spies and Parsons as Fielden's

accomplices was concealed in some changeable and contradictory conspiracies that were invented by the prosecution and adopted by the judge; then whatever was said or done by the mythical conspirators was metaphysically said and done by all the others, and as Fielden had given the signal to throw the bomb and had fired upon the police, therefore Spies and Parsons were psychologically accessories before the fact. In that way false testimony against Fielden was spun into threads by the law spiders, and woven by Judge Gary into a rope for Spies, Engel, Fischer, and Parsons.

Judge Gary with pen and picture puts the jury on parade, and while he metaphorically marches it along to slow music, perhaps it would be well to examine it, "ranging in age from fifty-three years down to early manhood." It was a jury packed by the prosecution, and the selection of it was in the hands of a mere bailiff dependent for his office on the whim of the sheriff. Three fourths of it were dependents on the "classes" who were clamoring for the hanging of the anarchists, "law or no law"; two of the jurors were in business for themselves, and one was a school teacher; the other nine were clerks and salesmen, two of them in the employ of the Northwestern Railroad Company. This may have been very innocent and fair, but wealthy and powerful as that corporation is, it was hardly entitled to so large a representation on the jury. The classes to which the prisoners belonged were excluded from the jury altogether.

In that rendition scene so melodramatically portrayed, there was one incident which Judge Gary has left out of his pictures, but which history will preserve. So long as the record of the trial shall stand, men will read with a shudder that the judge thanked the jury for a verdict that condemned seven of their fellow citizens to death, and told the jurymen that they ought to have a private pecuniary reward. Here is what he said: "It does not become me to say anything in regard to the case that you have tried, or the verdict you have rendered, but men compulsorily serving as jurors as you have done deserve some recognition of the service you have performed besides the meagre compensation you are to receive." That hint was eagerly seized by the press, and immediately the papers were eloquent with calls for a fund amounting to one hundred thousand dollars to be given to the jury for their verdict. Probably nothing ever came of

that; but the covert call of Judge Gary, made at the most pathetic moment of the trial, put the tragedy on a money basis, and lowered the dignity of the judge and the jury too. While the wives and children of the condemned men were shrieking and fainting because of the barbarity of the sentence, Judge Gary, cold and calculating, was telling the jury that they ought to have a reward besides the "meagre compensation" provided by the law.

Moreover, the jury was illegal because men were placed upon it who declared themselves prejudiced against the defendants, but who were led by Judge Gary to say that they could try the case fairly outside their prejudices. Judge Gary held that the promise cured the prejudice, a doctrine that practically took away from the defendants their challenges for cause. That ruling the Supreme Court sustained, because it was necessary to sustain anything to hang the anarchists. After the anarchists were put to death there was no longer any reason to preserve the innovation, and so the Supreme Court reversed it in the Cronin case. If the jury in the Cronin case was illegal, so was the jury in the anarchist case.

As soon as the anarchists were in their graves, and the mad passions of the hour had subsided, the bar awoke from sycophancy with alarm, perceiving that the law in the anarchist case was the overthrow of trial by jury in Illinois, and some of the judges even went so far as to demand its restoration in the following manifesto:—

The jury system is valuable in so far as it yields impartial juries, and when it does so it is invaluable; when it fails to do this it is pernicious and dangerous. To be impartial the jury should be selected from all honest walks of life—from the body of the people—and in such manner as to preclude their being selected or excluded because of race, color, creed, or political opinions. This can be done by using a method of selection in accord with existing provisions of the law, and that will prevent any of the public agents charged with the duty of furnishing jurors for courts from saying beforehand what individuals are to be placed on or debarred from the jury list.

All citizens possessing the legal qualifications of competent jurors prescribed by the statute constitute the body of the people from which trial juries should be drawn. The following suggestions show how this can be done, and done in such a way that impartiality and honesty can be secured. Taking the precincts one by one, write the names and residences of all the voters of a precinct on separate cards and place these in a box, and, in the presence of a committee from the county board and the county clerk, let there be drawn from the

box, after the cards bearing the names have been well shaken up, a number of the names equal to one tenth of the whole number in the box. The cards bearing the names and residences of the one tenth of the whole body of the citizens thus selected from each and every precinct in the county to constitute the jury list, all to be placed in a large box, to be known as the jury-box, to be provided for that purpose, the same to be then thoroughly shaken, such a box to be in the custody of the county clerk. Thereafter the clerks of the various courts, as jurors are needed for the term or on special venire (if the court directs), are to proceed to the county clerk's office and *draw at random*, a sufficient number of names from said box, as provided by section 8 of the statute on jurors.

When the jurors appear in court the judge is to examine all under oath, both as to qualifications and to pass upon excuses, and to dismiss all who do not appear to have the necessary qualifications and all who do not appear to have reasonable and proper excuses. The bailiff in each court is to be furnished with a small box in which the cards bearing the names of the panel of jurors are to be placed and the jury to be called by *drawing these cards one by one at random* from this box. In this way, and in this way only, can juries be secured in accordance with the provisions of the jury system. This jury list, thus selected, will be sufficient for about two years or more.

We submit this plan to the honorable board of county commissioners, with our approval, satisfied that it is feasible and fair. The idea of selecting at random from all the names furnished by the court commissioners is in force in the United States courts in this district, and gives satisfaction. All who are exempt and disqualified by statute to be stricken from the list.

We approve the foregoing:

RICHARD PRENDERGAST,
RICHARD S. TUTHILL,
JOHN P. ALTGELD,
ROLLIN S. WILLIAMSON,
FRANK BAKER.

The men who signed that call for the restoration of trial by jury, were all of them, at the time of signing it, judges in Chicago, and one of them is now governor of Illinois. Judicial courtesy would not allow them to refer specifically to Judge Gary's rulings, but it is a solemn coincidence that every one of the wrongs they condemn in that memorial was practised at the trial of the anarchists with the deliberate sanction of Judge Gary. The jury was packed by the prosecution; it was not "impartial"; it was not "from the body of the people"; it was not "drawn from the box"; it was not "drawn at random"; it was not drawn at all.

The charge that at the trial Judge Gary was partial, is proved by his article in the *Century Magazine*. He is not impartial now, though the anarchists are dead. He is trying them still. He assails with undignified invective their

names, character, and qualities, their supposed aims, and their doctrines, imaginary and real. If he can show such prejudice now, with a pen in his hand, and in the quietude of his own study, what must have been his antipathy to the prisoners at the time of their trial, when the very atmosphere of the court house and of the city outside was charged full with revengeful electricity, and when every ruling adverse to the prisoners was hailed with "a roar of almost universal approval."

That column or so of scolding at the labor demagogues who lead the working men astray is well enough in its way, but hardly to the point. So also it is interesting to know that Judge Gary spent the summer of 1840 working at a carpenter's bench and singing songs, but that also is outside the argument, for the questions at issue are these, Were the so-called anarchists guilty of the murder? and Did they get a fair trial, according to the law of the land?

Judge Gary assumes the affirmative of both propositions, but confines himself chiefly to Spies and Parsons, because, says Judge Gary, "To show how each was guilty would require more space than could be given to a magazine article." Before he came to that apology Judge Gary had already exhausted thirteen columns of the magazine in pictorial and sensational description of scenes and incidents; therefore his excuse cannot be accepted. He confines himself to Spies and Parsons because these were the publishers of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and the *Alarm*, and this bit of good luck enables Judge Gary to evade his own proposition "to demonstrate to all fair-minded, intelligent people, that the anarchists were guilty of murder." Instead of doing that he actually pads his article with more than twenty columns of selected extracts from the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and the *Alarm*, although he gives no proof whatever that any of the defendants except Spies and Parsons ever saw a word of them. That course of action was prudent if not brave, because thereby Judge Gary approaches the reader on the sentimental side. He appeals to passion, for it is not easy to read with patience the lurid rant and sulphurous threatenings of the *Alarm* and the *Arbeiter*. They were the delirious ravings of agitators intoxicated by enthusiasm for a new order of society, and there was no connection whatever between them and the bomb throwing in the Haymarket.

The murder of Abraham Lincoln aroused the revengeful feelings of the people, but nobody ever thought of hanging the editors who for years had been invoking "the dagger of Brutus," and advising the assassination of the president. It is true that Governor Wise pretended that Horace Greeley was criminally liable and guilty of murder because his editorial writings in the *New York Tribune* had caused the John Brown raid; but the claim was not seriously pressed, although there was talk at the time about an extradition process by which Mr. Greeley was to be surrendered and given over to Virginia for trial. The selections from the *Alarm* and the *Arbeiter* serve Judge Gary's purposes; they excite sympathy for the Gary side, and they inflame the reader's prejudice against the anarchists.

The narrative part of the article is not to be relied on, because it is the prosecutor's version of what occurred, and the side of the anarchists is carefully suppressed. Much of the story is yet in controversy, and some of it has been convincingly disproved. Here is a specimen of the careless manner in which Judge Gary testifies. Speaking of the memorable Haymarket meeting, he says, "The language of the speakers was of a very violent character"; but the mayor of the city, who was present at the meeting until very near its close, and who heard all the speakers, says that the speeches were not violent, and that he went to the police inspector and told him to dismiss his men, because it was a quiet meeting, and there was no necessity for the police. The truth is the police were bent on making a riot, and as soon as the mayor went away they marched up to the meeting. After the catastrophe it became necessary to excuse their illegal action, and so they invented a story to the effect that although the meeting was quiet and orderly while the mayor was present, yet that as soon as he went away, the speech of Fielden became violent and inflammatory, making it the duty of the police to disperse the crowd. This was an after-thought; nobody believes it now, and Judge Gary himself could not have believed it when he wrote that letter to the governor.

The partial character of Judge Gary's testimony further appears in his manner of summing up the case against Neebe. Having promised to show that the accused anarchists were guilty of murder, he convicts Neebe in the following easy

way: "Neebe was a stockholder in the *Arbeiter*, and took charge of the property on May 5, 1886, after Spies and Schwab were arrested. He distributed some of the 'Revenge' circulars. All of the defendants were members of groups of the Internationals." That is all; and yet limp and rickety as it is, the hidden truth of it makes it weaker still, for Judge Gary knows very well that Neebe was no more a "stockholder" in the *Arbeiter* than was any other member of the Socialistic Publishing Company. He had five dollars' worth of interest in it, and yet this paltry contribution enables Judge Gary to pamper Mr. Neebe into the important rank of a "stockholder." And this is a fair specimen of the manner in which the prosecution inflated all the testimony given at the trial.

The rest of Judge Gary's testimony against Neebe is distorted in the same way; for instance, "He took charge of the property," as if Neebe had an owner's authority at the office of the *Arbeiter*, when the truth was that Neebe was merely there as an inquirer after news along with a crowd of others, and when a policeman said, "Who's in charge here?" Neebe answered, "Well, I suppose I am, in the absence of Spies and Schwab," meaning that he would see that the property should not be stolen or destroyed.

All the testimony brought against Neebe would not justify his imprisonment for one day, and had the bomb broken a window merely, instead of killing a man, and had Neebe been sued for damages on account of the broken window, Judge Gary would have held that Neebe's connection with the bomb throwing was too uncertain and remote to make him liable in damages to the value of a pane of glass; yet on that flimsy testimony the jury found Neebe guilty of murder, and that irrational and revengeful verdict Judge Gary solemnly sustained. Of what value, then, are his opinions as to the guilt of the others, or as to anything connected with the anarchists and their trial?

Even less testimony than was produced against Neebe would have been sufficient for Judge Gary. Neebe belonged to the Internationals, and that was enough to make him guilty of the murder of Matthias Degan. That reactionary doctrine carries us backward several hundred years. It is too imperialistic now even for the old monarchies. It would be held barbarous to-day in Russia, Austria, Italy, or Spain;

and yet Judge Gary has the temerity to say, "The mere fact that the defendants were members of the Internationals, more or less active in the organization, even though their action was confined to meetings of the groups, made them co-conspirators with the more active members who worked publicly." This grotesque and sanguinary jurisprudence may be good enough for anarchists, but it is not law.

With amazing hardihood Judge Gary, in defiance of the record, says, "The anarchists were not tried for being anarchists, but for procuring murder to be done, and being therefore themselves guilty of murder." Surely he remembers the frenzy of the time and the roar of a mad people demanding that the prisoners be hanged for anarchy. He himself says that the verdict was received with "a roar of almost universal approval." Murder was the technical crime charged, but the case put before the jury was "Anarchy." The press, drunk with passion, would not agree to anything else, and so thoroughly was the public mind saturated with that view of it, that the *Chicago Tribune*, in its New Year's day edition for 1888, recording the executions for 1887, the names of the condemned in one column, and their crimes, murder, arson, rape, or whatever it was, in another; when it came to November 11, mentioning Spies, Engel, Fischer, and Parsons, the *Tribune* was very careful to say that they were hanged for "Anarchy." Thousands of men in Chicago believe it to this day.

Surely Judge Gary has not forgotten the closing speech of the prosecuting attorney, the false issue presented by him to the jury, and his theatrical exclamation, "Anarchy is on trial!" Conscious that the charge of murder had altogether failed, he changed the issue to "anarchy" and "treason," the penalty for which, he said, was death. In vain the counsel for the defendants appealed against this wrong; Judge Gary allowed the prosecutor to go on; and to this day, no doubt, some of the jury believe that the accused persons were on trial for anarchy and treason, under a nominal indictment for murder.

So glaring was this at the time that Fielden, when asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him, rebuked the prosecuting attorney and Judge Gary for substituting a false issue at the eleventh hour. Referring to his indictment for murder he said:—

I answered that charge in this court. My attorneys in my behalf met that charge; we brought evidence to meet and rebut the charge of murder. After all our evidence was put in, after all the speeches had been made on both sides, with the exception of one (the closing speech of the state's attorney), we were suddenly confronted with the fact that the charge of murder had not been proven. When all the witnesses had been heard I am suddenly told that I am being tried for "anarchy." *If I had known that I was being tried for anarchy, I could have answered that charge.*

And so painfully impressed by this view of it were many members of the bar in Chicago that they openly expressed their disapprobation. I will merely quote the opinion of Lyman Trumbull, a very conservative man. Many years ago he was a judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois; for eighteen years he was a member of the United States Senate, and chairman of the judiciary committee of that body, a man in active practice now, and easily first among the lawyers of Illinois. Judge Trumbull said:—

I am not altogether satisfied with the manner in which the trial of the anarchists was conducted. It took place at a time of great public excitement, when it was about *impossible that they could have a fair and impartial trial*. A terrible crime had been committed which was attributed to the anarchists, and in some respects the trial had the appearance of a *trial of an organization known as anarchists*, rather than of persons indicted for the murder of Degan. Several of the condemned were not at the meeting where the bomb was thrown, and none of them, as I understand, was directly connected with the throwing.

That is enough, but if anything more is needed, Judge Gary's article will supply it. If this was a trial for murder, why does he take so much pains to show the sanguinary character of anarchy? Why does he labor to controvert the real and imaginary doctrines of the accused men? Why does he devote nine tenths of his article to abstract anarchy, and only about one tenth of it to that promised evidence of murder? The truth is that he tried Spies and the rest of them for anarchy in 1886, and he is trying them for anarchy now.

The abstract law of conspiracy quoted by Judge Gary from the statutes and the text-books is trite enough, but it has no application to the facts in the anarchist case, and when Judge Gary, an old carpenter, makes a specific and definite attempt to dovetail them together, he falls into laby-

rinthine mental confusion, as in the attempt to fit the case of Brennan vs. The People (15 Illinois Reports, 511) to the case of the anarchists. In the Brennan case the court said:—

There is a fatal objection to the eighteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-second instructions asked by the prisoners. These instructions require the jury to acquit the prisoners, unless they actually participated in the killing of Story, or unless the killing happened in pursuance of a common design to take his life. Such is not the law. The prisoners may be guilty of murder, although they neither took part in the killing, nor assented to any arrangement having for its object the death of Story. It is sufficient that they combined with those committing the deed to do an unlawful act, and if death happens in the prosecution of the common object, all are alike guilty of the homicide. The act of one of them done in furtherance of the original design is, in consideration of law, the act of all, and he who advises or encourages another to do an illegal act is responsible for all the natural and probable consequences that may arise from its perpetration.

Very well, but suppose that Brennan and his party, having combined to beat or rob Story, some unknown person should beat or rob somebody else, would Brennan be guilty of that? Certainly not, and yet this would be a true parallel to the anarchist case. There was no connection shown between the defendants and the unknown person who threw the bomb in the Haymarket, nor between their words and his action. Judge Gary's doctrine is not new. He borrowed it from those defenders of "social order" who proclaimed in 1859 that Horace Greeley, Frederick Douglass, Gerritt Smith, Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison were engaged in a conspiracy to subvert the constitution by the overthrow of slavery, and that in pursuance of that conspiracy John Brown made a revolutionary attack on Harper's Ferry, and that as Horace Greeley and the others had assailed the Constitution and given general advice to overthrow slavery, they were "co-conspirators" with Brown.

Let us take another illustration. For some time past popular stump orators and social agitators have advised, in a general way, the spoiling of trusts by the confiscation and larceny of their property. Would Judge Gary hold them guilty of larceny if some unknown person should steal coal from the coal combine, or oil from the Standard Oil Company, or sugar from Havemeyer, or any other property belonging to those powerful corporations? Probably not, and yet this is the doctrine he maintained in a graver case

than larceny, in a case involving the tremendous issues of life and death.

Lord Coke said, "The Common Law is the perfection of reason." Judge Gary does not approve the definition. He calls it "a stilted phrase," and so he substitutes a stunted phrase in place of it, "And the law is common sense." This musty and mischievous old maxim has been chimney-corner law for ages, and Judge Gary fondles it as an original discovery of his own. He quotes it again and again, he uses it as the motto for his article, and he bestows it upon us in a patronizing way as if it were a fatherly benediction. The sentiment is utterly lawless and abandoned; it is the very anarchy of jurisprudence. The term "common sense" has no definite meaning, and the law has never permitted the life, liberty, and property of the citizen to depend upon it. The phrase is often used for the commonest nonsense, and for the display of conceited egotism. Whenever it is used by a judge, suspicion always attaches to it as an apology for setting aside the law, and substituting for it the "common sense" of the judge.

In judicial proceedings the phrase is dangerous as dynamite, because nobody knows what common sense is. For ages it has been the object of statutes, charters, and constitutions to protect the people against the capricious "common sense" of the judges and the courts. Every lawyer knows that "certainty," so far as it is possible for human wisdom to express it, is one of the essential qualities of law. This is necessary, in order that all men may understand it, but no man can tell what is, or what may be, the "common sense" of a judge. It is because the "common sense" of the judges is not certain that the constitution and laws of Illinois command that every man accused of crime shall have a fair and impartial trial by an unprejudiced jury of his peers, and no judge has any right to abolish this protection and say that his own "common sense" is better than the constitution and the law.

Even the "common sense" of Judge Gary changes with his moods. In 1886 his "common sense" told him that Fielden was guilty and ought to be hanged, and in 1886 he fully intended to hang him. Having overruled the motion for a new trial, he proceeded to pass sentence of death upon Fielden and the others, and said: "You are all men of

intelligence, and know that if the verdict stands it must be executed. The reasons why it shall stand I have already stated in deciding the motion for a new trial." In 1887 his "common sense" told him that as to Fielden the verdict ought *not* to stand, and that it ought not to be executed. He appealed from his own decision to the governor of Illinois, and pleaded for a commutation of the sentence, partly for sentimental reasons but principally on legal grounds. If Judge Gary believed that the governor was not a judicial magistrate, with authority to review and reverse the decisions of the courts in criminal cases, why did the judge tell the governor that the verdict against Fielden was not supported by the evidence? Every position taken by Judge Gary in the *Century Magazine* is contradicted and condemned by his own letter to Governor Oglesby.

Judge Gary quotes prophecy, and indulges a little in prophecy himself, as Fielden did at the time Judge Gary sentenced him to death. Addressing the judge, the prisoner said, "We have been tried by a jury that has found us guilty; you will be tried by a jury now that will find you guilty." Before this generation passes away that prophecy will be fulfilled. The judgment in the anarchist case will be reversed as triumphantly as the judgment against Alice Lisle was reversed in the next generation. And, by the way, Judge Gary tells us in the *Century Magazine* that the anarchist case is without a precedent; but this is a mistake, for it has a glaring precedent in the case of Alice Lisle. She had given shelter and food to one of the prominent leaders of the Western revolt, and the "common sense" of Judge Jeffreys led him to decide that by giving such aid and comfort she became a "co-conspirator," and was therefore guilty with all the rest. He therefore condemned her to death, a barbarous judgment that was barbarously executed, a sentence that will give Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys a conspicuous place on the roll of infamous judges for all time.

Some rewards are harder to bear than punishments. Judge Gary testifies to that. He has been praised and rewarded because of a popular belief that he would not allow such trifles as the constitution and the law to stand between the people and revenge. In some agony of spirit he says: —

Mixed with all the approval of my own part in the conviction of the anarchists that has come to my eyes and ears, the amount of which is beyond my summing up, there has been an undertone like a minor strain in music, that the anarchists deserved their fate; that society has the right to enforce the first law of nature, self-preservation; and therefore if I had a little strained the law, or administered it with great rigor against them, I was to be commended for my courage in so doing. I protest against any such commendation, and deny utterly that I have done anything that should subject me to it.

When a judicial magistrate bends to power, and yields to the irrational clamor of the mad majority inside the court house or outside of it, and gets a "roar of almost universal approval" for doing so, men do not glorify his action by such a word as "courage," but they describe it in words that mean the opposite of that. Seven years of such praise as Judge Gary has endured is torture enough, and even a "minor strain in music" becomes painful when played for seven years; therefore he does not wish to be commended any longer because he "strained the law." He repudiates the commendation thus: —

If, therefore, I have strained the law — gone beyond its intent and meaning — I am not to be commended but blamed for doing so. The end, however desirable its attainment, excuses no irregular means in the administration of justice.

In saying "If I had a little strained the law," Judge Gary is too modest altogether. He strained it until it broke. For some of his harsh rulings at the trial he offers no justification or excuse, although they have been criticised for nearly seven years. He compelled eight men, in peril of their lives, to be tried in a batch together, and he denied them the right to be separately tried. By this device each man was weighted down with all the testimony given against all the others, and his right of challenge was grievously impaired. That right is individual and personal, and a man on trial for his life ought not to be compelled against his will to mix his own challenges with those of other men. Where eight men are jointly arraigned, some of them may desire to challenge a juror whom the others wish to retain, but by Judge Gary's rulings they were compelled to unite in their challenges or forfeit them altogether. The law of Illinois gives the defendant in a capital case twenty challenges, but Judge Gary limited the eight defendants in the anarchist

case to a joint interest in a hundred and sixty challenges, which is a privilege much inferior to the other. He also allowed the state's attorney to multiply his twenty challenges by eight, so that the prosecutor had one hundred and sixty separate challenges, while the eight defendants were allowed only the same number, and these they were compelled to use jointly or not at all.

In the way of oblique excuse, Judge Gary pleads that "This case is without precedent." He says, "There is no example in the law books of a case of this sort." This is a mistake, except in the purely physical sense that no two men are exactly alike. Cases containing the same legal and moral elements that were involved in the anarchist case, are multitudinous in the books. Take, for instance, the case of Thistlewood and his gang, tried for treason in 1820. This has a strong resemblance to the anarchist case, excepting that, unlike the anarchists, Thistlewood and his party actually committed the deed for which they were condemned. They organized a conspiracy to overthrow the government, and were to begin the reign of terror by murdering all the ministers of the crown at a cabinet dinner given by Lord Harrowby in Grosvenor Square. On the day of the dinner, the conspirators assembled in the loft of a neighboring stable, and after arming themselves with knives, daggers, and pistols, they were about to start on their sanguinary expedition when the police appeared and ordered them to surrender. They opened fire upon the police, killing some and wounding others, but in the end were overpowered. In the midst of intense public excitement, Thistlewood and fifteen others were jointly indicted for their crime, and being arraigned, they said they wished to sever in their challenges, whereupon they were granted separate trials as a matter of absolute right. The case of Frost, Williams, and Jones, tried at Monmouth in 1840, is a similar instance; the case of Ashton, Elliott, and Lord Viscount Preston, tried before Lord Holt, in the reign of William III., is another, and these can be multiplied by hundreds. If Judge Gary meant to declare it "without precedent" that eight men jointly indicted for a capital crime were denied the right to sever in their challenges and to be separately tried, he is probably correct. It is very likely that "There is no example in the law books of a case of this sort."

"I suppose," remarks Judge Gary, "that in the Lord George Gordon riots we may, perhaps, find something like this; but Lord George Gordon was indicted for treason, and the government failed in its proofs upon the trial as to what he had done. Very likely they did not want to prove it very strongly against him." The comparison between the anarchist case is unfortunate for Judge Gary, and he falls into error in supposing that the government did not wish to convict Gordon. He was the very man the government was after, for his pernicious activity was troublesome. He was a fanatical enthusiast of high rank, a member of Parliament, a magnetic demagogue of dangerous oratorical ability, and the inspiration of the riots. The government was anxious to exterminate Gordon, and would have done it if the judges had not given him a fair trial.

Also it is a mistake to say that the government failed in its proofs of what he had done. They proved that for months he had been stimulating a "No Popery" rebellion by speeches of the most fiery and violent character; that on the very day the riots began he had addressed an excited multitude of sixty thousand people, protesting that there would be "no help until all the popish chapels were destroyed"; that the mob then retired, and at night began the work of burning the chapels and many private residences. They burned the house of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield and everything it contained, including his priceless library. For four days they had London in a state of terror. Scores of houses were burned, many lives were sacrificed, and much pillage was done. There was no deficiency of proof, but the government failed because the prosecution could not show any legal or logical connection between the words of Gordon and the deeds of the mob. In the language of Judge Gary, "There was no evidence that he knew of any preparation to do the specific acts" of treason, arson, and murder. Lord George Gordon was acquitted because no traitorous or malicious intent was shown, nor any intent to produce the riots that came out of the "No Popery" agitation.

A word or two about that picture of "The Monument to the Martyred Police" and its forged and counterfeit epigraph. The figure is a policeman with uplifted hand, and the command he gave, according to the motto chiselled on the pedestal, was this, "In the name of the people of Illinois I

command peace." Judge Gary knows that nothing of the kind was uttered. Here is what the policeman said, "In the name of the people of Illinois I command this meeting to disperse." Judge Gary himself confesses that, but he does not say why the falsification on the monument was made. The command actually given by the police captain was in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Illinois, as the monument committee very well knew, and so they changed it into a gentle appeal for peace. And every day and every hour that bronze policeman with uplifted hand repeats the false quotation to every man and woman and child that passes by. There is a parallel to it in the old monument that rears its head a hundred and fifty feet into the air on Fish Street Hill, and commemorates the great fire of London. For years it bore an inscription saying that London was burned by the Roman Catholics, a falsehood of which the city became ashamed at last, and therefore cut it out of the stone. Pope refers to it thus: —

Where London's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts its head and lies.

The police monument gives false testimony. Carved on the face of it is a forgery of the record, a perversion of the truth; and so long as it stands in the Haymarket, it will remain a brazen symbol of the trial. Ere long, all the citizens of Chicago will point at it with derision, and say: —

There Bonfield's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts its head, and — lies.

RICHARD ANTHONY PROCTOR, ASTRONOMER.

BY REV. HOWARD MACQUEARY.

No writer of this generation has done more to interest people in the high science of astronomy than the man whose name appears at the head of this article. Both by original investigation and by numerous popular treatises on the subject, Professor Proctor strove to promote a knowledge of astronomy. Yet his body has lain in a neglected grave in Greenwood Cemetery, New York, since his death from yellow fever, Sept. 12, 1888. His children have earnestly desired to properly honor their father by removing his remains to a lot of their own and erecting a suitable monument to his memory, but they have not been able to do so, having to earn their own living. Recently Miss Mary Proctor, Professor Proctor's eldest daughter, who now resides in St. Joseph, Mo., and several of her father's friends and admirers, began a movement by which they hoped to raise the funds necessary to the purchase of a lot and monument for the aforesaid purpose. They were successful beyond anticipation, for that well-known philanthropist and patron of all that is high and noble, Mr. George W. Childs of Philadelphia, when the project became known to him, generously offered to assume the entire expense of the reinterment of Professor Proctor's remains; and so, at last, this servant of science will receive the honor due him. It is specially appropriate, therefore, to review at this time the life and work of Richard A. Proctor.

He was born in Cheyne Row, Chelsea, London, on March 23, 1837. He was the youngest of four children, two sons and two daughters, and was rather a delicate child. His mother seems to have been a clever woman. She kept him at home as long as possible, attending to his education. His boyish contemporaries remember him as a great reader, devouring books of a more advanced type than boys usually care for. His father, who was a solicitor with literary tastes, died when his little son was thirteen years old.

Young Proctor's health having improved, he was in due time sent to King's College, London, and then to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a scholarship. During his collegiate course he took much interest in athletic sports, and was made captain of the Lady Somerset, a Johnian boating club, and brought his boat up several places on the river. During his second year at Cambridge he lost his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached; and shortly afterwards, while travelling with his sister, he fell in love with a young Irish lady, and was privately married to her while at college. He came out in the honors list of 1860 as twenty-third wrangler, a degree which greatly disappointed his friends, many of whom had already recognized his remarkable talent.

Upon leaving college he had, of course, to decide upon some profession. Finding that he could not conscientiously comply with his mother's wish and enter the ministry, he thought of the law, and for a while ate dinners at the Temple. But this also proved uncongenial to his mind, and he finally determined to adopt a scientific career, having been led thereto by reading Nichol's "Architecture of the Heavens," and Mitchell's "Popular Astronomy." He lived for short periods first in Ayr, then in Edinburgh, then near Dublin, and afterwards at Davenport.

Mr. Proctor's first literary venture was an article on "Double Stars," which he sent in 1865, without introduction of any kind, to the editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*. To his delight it was accepted, and he was about to despatch a letter of warm thanks to the editor when a check arrived. Not knowing that magazines paid for such contributions, he fancied that there must have been some mistake, but upon inquiry he learned that this was not the case, and he devoted the money to the purchase of telescopic adjuncts, which he needed. Not every young writer would have been so anxious to discover such a mistake!

His first book was on "Saturn and its System," and was published in 1865, at his own expense; its preparation occupied four years. It was very favorably received by astronomers, who recognized that a writer of exceptional ability had appeared. Geometrical conceptions were expounded with great clearness, and astronomical and historical details were explained with an ease and enthusiasm

which attracted the reader. But though the book was well received by the reviewers, the public did not buy it, and he found, to his great disappointment, that its publication was a source of loss instead of profit. He might have borne this loss better had not a greater calamity befallen him at the same time. He was a large shareholder in a New Zealand bank which failed during the commercial panic of 1866, entirely absorbing his capital. His family was increasing in number, and the grave question pressed upon him whether he should not forsake the study of astronomy and devote himself to teaching, or seek an official appointment. He finally determined to continue in his chosen work, and wrote some articles on "The Telescope" for the *Popular Science Review*.

"For five years," he says, "I did not take one day's holiday from the work I found essential for my family's maintenance." It frequently seemed to him that he must abandon his scientific work. His articles were constantly sent back to him, and he says, pathetically, "I would willingly have turned to stone-breaking on the roads, or any other form of hard and honest but unscientific labor, if a modest competence in any such direction had been offered me."

Even Anthony Trollope wrote to him, on receiving an article on "The Gulf Stream," that it seemed interesting, but he must ask for some evidence to show that the author was competent to deal with a subject of the kind in a scientific way—as if such evidence must not be found in the article itself, if anywhere! Fortunately Mr. Proctor was able to satisfy him, and the article appeared in due time in the *St. Paul's Magazine*.

The publishers were equally shy of his books, and both the Longmans and the Macmillans refused to accept his "Handbook of the Stars"; so with the help of a friend, five hundred copies were printed, which sold and paid expenses. With similar help he brought out his "Constellation Seasons" and his "Sun Views of the Earth," both of which paid expenses and a few pounds over, but no new editions were prepared. At last Messrs. Hardwick engaged him to write a small book called "Half Hours with the Telescope," for twenty-five pounds.

During this time he advertised for pupils in mathematics, and secured the position of mathematical teacher in a military

academy at Woolwich and Sandhurst, but the work was very distasteful to him. Slowly he obtained a footing with leading magazines, and after the publication of his popular work on "Other Worlds than Ours," in 1870, his ability was fully recognized and he was asked to write other books. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society on June 8, 1866, and one of its honorary secretaries in 1872. He held this post until November, 1873, when he retired in order to come to America on a lecturing tour.

He was warmly received in this country, and soon made for himself a national reputation as a pleasing and forcible lecturer. When his first wife died, in 1879, leaving six children, he married an American lady, settling for a time in St. Joseph, Mo., and finally in Florida. There it was that he contracted the yellow fever, which carried him off in 1888. His last wife has married within the past year, and now resides in Belfast, Ireland. Two of his daughters, Misses Mary and Agnes, live in St. Joseph; his eldest son, John M. Proctor, is a resident of Portland, Ore.; Richard T. Proctor makes his home in Denver, Col., and Henry Proctor is living in Brighton, England. Thus the Proctor family is largely identified with this country, and it is only proper that the father's remains should permanently rest among us and be honored by us.

Professor Proctor was the author of fifty-seven volumes on astronomy, the most popular of which is perhaps "Other Worlds than Ours." His last work, however, is his most important and complete production. It is entitled "Old and New Astronomy," and has been finished and published since his death by his friend, Mr. Arthur C. Ranyard of England, to whose sketch of Mr. Proctor's life and work, in the *Monthly Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society, I am largely indebted for the *data* used in this article.

One of Mr. Proctor's favorite theories was the inhabitation of "other worlds than ours," and those who have read his arguments on the subject must feel that all the probabilities of the case point to his conclusion. Of course absolute demonstration cannot reasonably be required, but when it is shown that the same conditions of life prevail on other planets that exist here, we can hardly refuse to believe that life must also exist there, and Mr. Proctor gives strong reasons and many facts to show that such conditions do

exist in Mars and other planets as are necessary to life, animal and human.

But more important than such speculations are his original discoveries respecting Venus and Mars. In a series of papers communicated to the Royal Astronomical Society, he examined into the conditions of observation for the transits of 1874 and 1882 with great thoroughness and at much detail, and his opinions may be read in "Old and New Astronomy" (pp. 251-72).

Amongst other matters with which Mr. Proctor's name will always be associated in astronomy may be mentioned his accurate determination of the rotation period of Mars.

One of Mr. Proctor's greatest undertakings was the charting of the three hundred and twenty-four thousand stars contained in Argelander's Catalogue, showing the relation of stars down to the eleventh magnitude, with the Milky Way and its subsidiary branches. In a series of papers on "Star Distribution," "The Construction of the Milky Way," "The Distribution of Nebulæ and Star Clusters," and on "The Proper Motions of the Stars," etc., he completely disposed of the artificial theories which had been previously held regarding the stellar universe.

Amid all this scientific activity Mr. Proctor found time for the lighter accomplishments. He was passionately fond of music, and played the piano with much delicacy of touch and feeling. He was an authority on whist, and was the author of a book on the subject; and he was at one time president of the British Chess Society in London.

"It may certainly be said of Mr. Proctor," says Mr. Ran-yard, "that he has succeeded in interesting a larger public in the science of astronomy than any other man. His books have been read and his lectures listened to not only in England and America, but in most of the English colonies; and the wide interest he has stirred up in astronomical subjects will no doubt have far-reaching results, and bear important fruit."

SILVER OR FIAT MONEY, WHICH SHALL IT BE?

BY A. J. WARNER.

UNLESS the use of silver as money is to be left to automatic regulation through the production of the mines and unrestricted coinage, it might as well be abandoned for monetary purposes, and sooner or later will be. Unless this metal is to remain as a fountain of supply for money, endowed with all the functions required for a standard of value and for coin of ultimate payment for debts and obligations of every description, it cannot long hold its place as a money metal. As secondary money, the value of which is to be maintained by legislative limitations or by promise of redemption in gold, silver is no better than greenbacks. In fact, as Cernuschi has said, such coins are but silver greenbacks, and it is altogether needless to resort to a material as costly to produce as silver for that kind of money. The writer feels justified, therefore, in saying that he believes economists generally agree that unless silver is to stand as a money metal, possessing the same monetary rights as gold, its use as money, except, perhaps, for subsidiary coins, will be abandoned in the near future.

The question first in importance, then, is, What shall take the place of silver as money, or whence is the supply of money to come, to carry on the increasing business of the world? The answer cannot be Gold, for the gold of the world is already hardly able to do the work now imposed upon it, and under this strain is constantly growing scarcer and dearer. As a money standard it has already increased from fifty to sixty per cent in twenty years. In the presence of the world's vast debts such an increase becomes alarming, and, instead of being a standard of equity, has already led to world-wide and unpardonable injustice. Surely Christian nations cannot much longer

tolerate this method of confiscation. Moreover, the production of gold is on the decline; and if silver mines are closed, the production must necessarily fall off still more rapidly. All competent geologists agree that there is no probability of any material increase in the supply of gold, even for brief periods, and that for the long future the supply must grow less. On the other hand, the consumption of gold in dentistry and for industrial uses is gradually increasing; and if the stage has not already been reached when the world's stock of money is being drawn upon for the arts, the time is near at hand when the stock of gold money will begin to disappear in this way. Nor can the loss of gold in other ways be left out of our calculations. The researches of Jacobs led him to the conclusion that gold coin in circulation wore out, on the average, in two hundred and sixty-four years.

But enough has been said to show that the annual supply of gold is likely to be insufficient even to meet the present demands upon it, and altogether unable to fill the place now filled, under various conditions, by silver. This being the situation as to the supply of metallic money, the possibility of making gold take the place of the present stock of full legal-tender silver money, even in countries where silver has been in whole or in part demonetized, is quite out of the question.

But another point of vital importance arises here. Can we have automatic regulation of money, or of the money standard, with gold alone as that standard? From before historic times, and certainly for thirty-five centuries, gold and silver have been in use as money, with no limitation on them; and their value, as compared with other things, in all ages has been determined by the quantity furnished by the mines, and, consequently, by the same laws that regulated the value of everything else. During all this period, through Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman civilizations, down to 1873, according to the high authority of Max Müller, the ratio of the two metals did not vary more than from 13 to 1, to 15½ to 1. The relative production of the two metals, however, has varied widely during this time, and often over long periods of time. But this variation in production did not affect the relative value of the two metals.

From this fact has been deduced the compensatory law of bimetallism, which is that with the unrestricted use of the two metals as money, or under free mintage, if, through increased production or otherwise, one metal for the time being becomes more abundant or more accessible than the other, and tends in consequence to become cheaper, then, under the law of legal tender, whether established by custom or by legislative action, the more abundant metal is taken up and its use extended, while that of the other is correspondingly diminished, and in this way parity is maintained. Of course, without the power of legal tender, bimetallism could not exist. Nor can it if the option is given to the payee. Hence, when the secretary of the Treasury assumes that, in order to maintain the parity of gold and silver under the Act of 1890, he must give the option to the payee to take which metal he prefers, he is adopting a policy which, if persisted in, must necessarily result ultimately in the use of but one of them. If the metals were at a parity to begin with, such a policy would certainly produce disparity. Bimetallism could not be permanently maintained even if we had, to begin with, a general concurrence of nations on a common ratio. It necessarily rests upon the law of legal tender which gives the option to the payor.

But our question is, Can we have automatic regulation with gold alone? In other words, Is it possible, with gold as the only money of ultimate redemption, to have such an adjustment of supply to increasing population and wealth as to secure anything like stability of prices — or, which is the same thing, stable relations between money and population and business?

With no new gold for money, instead of an adjustment of money supply to increasing population and business, prices must undergo frequent readjustment to the relatively reduced quantity of standard money. Hence it is within the bounds of proper economic deduction to say that with gold alone, automatic adjustment of money supply to needs of money, or automatic regulation of the money standard, is impossible. Consequently, to give up silver involves the overthrow of the vital principle of automatic regulation of money.

The importance of this principle cannot be magnified when

viewed in connection with the vast load of debts under which the world is now laboring. How the equities of contracts extending far into the future are otherwise to be preserved, is not easily seen. On the other hand, fear is expressed, on the part of those holding long-time obligations, lest the production of silver may so increase as to cheapen money till it will become of comparatively little value; but a little reflection will dispel this fear.

Under regulation of money supply through the production of the mines, the limit of variation is always the relative cost of mining the metal and the cost of producing other things. If in the course of years the annual production of either metal, or of both, should so add to the money stocks of the world as to materially cheapen money and raise prices (and it is only by raising prices that money is shown to be cheaper), the point would be soon reached when it would be easier and take less labor to get a dollar by producing commodities than by digging it from the mines. The supply of money would therefore be checked, and the tendency to constancy in the relative supply of money and commodities would be restored.

The importance of this principle in the regulation of money supply cannot be overestimated, and gold monometallists do not know what they do when they destroy this principle, which is absolutely ruined when bimetallism is overthrown. The opinion, however, prevails widely, even among the banking and mercantile classes, that metallic money is no longer of importance, and that a paper currency, left to banks to issue freely, may be made to expand and contract in response to the wants of trade. They seem to have the idea that the demand for money is controlled by the same conditions that control the demand for anything else; that only so much would be taken up, no matter how much was issued. They forget that the first effect of an inflation of money is to raise prices, and that as prices rise the need for money is increased. As prices get higher more money is required to perform the same number of exchanges. Twice as much money would be needed to pay for horses at two hundred dollars apiece as would be if horses were worth but one hundred dollars each. Money, therefore, is never given back as a thing that can be no longer used. Mr. Weguelin, president of the Bank of Eng-

land, in answer to the question put to him by the Parliamentary Commission of 1857, as to how much money there was a demand for in England, said there was no limit. It may therefore be laid down as an admitted principle that there is no such relation between the demand for money and the ability to issue it, as admits of automatic regulation.

But a much larger class, including not a few writers on the subject, while they may question the soundness of the principle of automatic adjustment of money supply to the demand for money when everybody with credit enough to put out notes is left free to issue notes to circulate as currency, nevertheless maintain that if the notes are made redeemable and properly secured, there can be no excess of issue, and that the adjustment of money supply to needs for money will be perfect. Even a cursory examination of this claim will show that it is no more tenable and scarcely less dangerous than that just exposed.

In the first place, there is absolutely no difference in the fundamental principle between basing the issue of notes on land and on the public funds. Of the two, however, the latter is the more vicious, because there is a better defined limit to land than there can be to debt. The issue of notes on land is lawism, pure and simple; so is that of notes on bonds. The only difference is in the kind of security. Macleod, in his "Theory and Practice of Banking," says:—

The principles of basing a paper currency upon land and upon the public funds are absolutely identical and equally vicious. To permit a man to spend his money in buying part of the public debt, and to have it, as well, in the form of notes, is as rank an absurdity as to permit him to spend it in land and also have it as notes.

Worse, if possible, is the theory of basing a currency upon the discount of commercial bills, as sometimes proposed by bankers.

The answer may be set up that the notes are to be redeemable in gold, or in legal-tender paper, which in turn the government will redeem in gold, and if redeemable in gold that they cannot fall below gold. But the doctrine was laid down by one of our earlier secretaries that the promise of redemption was not such regulation of quantity as would secure stability of value in the currency. This principle is now as generally admitted as any doctrine of economics. It has also been abundantly shown that promise

of redemption, with ample security of final redemption, has not prevented, and will not prevent, the depreciation, at times, of such a currency. There could be no doubt as to the ability of the United States ultimately to redeem a billion dollars of greenbacks, but that would not prevent the depreciation of such a volume of currency if it should be at once issued. If a thousand millions of government bonds, bearing four per cent interest, could at this time be had at par, they would be seized upon by the banks as security for notes, and wild inflation would follow. The only principle that would govern the issue of such a currency would be the interest of the banks. This is proven by the issue of national bank notes in 1865-66, in addition to an already inflated paper currency.

The first effect of such an increase of the currency would be to depreciate the whole volume of money, which would be indicated by a rise of prices, followed by the export of gold. If a safe proportion were 5 of paper to 1 of gold, then in order to preserve the same proportion, if \$100,000,000 of gold were exported, \$500,000,000 of the paper must be suddenly extinguished. But such a contraction would precipitate panic, and spread ruin broadcast. A large part of existing financial troubles arise from just such a condition. Of course with both gold and silver as a basis for credit, a much larger structure could be safely erected upon the broader foundation of the two metals.

But the point I have aimed to bring out is that convertibility, with ample security behind the notes, is not such regulation of quantity as will secure stability in the value of the currency; but that, on the contrary, a currency regulated by no other principle is certain to undergo wide fluctuations, and periodically to lose convertibility, with all the disastrous consequences of the sudden breaking down of a credit currency.

That such a currency will operate to expel gold as effectively as any other form of currency, is very likely.

Webster said, in his sub-treasury speech, "There is a liability to excessive issues of paper, even while paper is convertible at will; of this there can be no doubt." And again, "The circulation of paper tends to displace coin; it may banish it altogether; at this very moment it has banished it."

Lord Overstone laid down the principle that "Nothing will secure the permanent convertibility of paper money but a constant regulation of the amount of that paper money in conformity with the variations in the amount of the bullion."

Indeed, the doctrine may be said to be well established that neither convertibility nor security of ultimate redemption can be relied upon to insure stability in the value of a paper currency. Nothing but the due regulation of quantity will preserve the parity of a paper circulation with the coin in which it is redeemable. In view of these principles, so well established, and which every enlightened nation has accepted and acted upon in regulating the issue of currency, it is almost unaccountable that the United States should be threatened with further experience with a kind of currency that wrecked so many fortunes and spread such devastation in 1837, and at other periods of sudden collapse after wild inflation of "convertible" bank notes. No one acquainted with the discussion of this subject in England, before and following the passage of Peel's Act of 1844, would favor a return to such a currency. That Congressman Harter should propose the issue, by thousands of banks, of all the currency for which they could put up bonds of any sort, provided only that they promised to redeem in gold, need not, perhaps, surprise any one; but that a writer of the standing of Mr. Horace White should seriously propose, first, to reduce the money of redemption to gold alone, and then to provide for the issue of paper promises to pay gold, limited only by the bonds that can be procured as a basis for such an issue, can hardly be rationally accounted for.

We have already shown that the issue of a currency based on debt is the worst form of lawism; and when it is seriously proposed to substitute such a currency for one of the precious metals, and to resort to regulation by the quantity of evidences of debt that may exist, instead of the automatic regulation of the mines, silver men may well ask, Where are we drifting?

Although a return to such a form of currency may be discussed and may get into a party platform, we are not prepared to believe that it will ever again be actually resorted to. What would be the volume of a currency of that kind that could be kept convertible into gold in this country, with silver demonetized?

Surely, there must be some proportion between the currency to be redeemed and the coin provided for its redemption. If it be 5 to 1, the limit of such a volume would be much below the present volume. The banks, all told, now hold less than \$200,000,000 of gold. The Treasury contains of its own less than \$100,000,000. There is no evidence that there is \$100,000,000 in circulation, or in the hands of the people. The mint estimates of gold for years have been excessive. If there were \$25,000,000 in actual circulation east of the Missouri River, it would be made evident; but there is no evidence that any such quantity is held in actual circulation. It is hard to believe, either, that \$50,000,000 of gold is hoarded in this country. Great Britain has less than \$400,000,000 of gold in the kingdom, although it has a gold currency, and no notes are used in England for less than £5, and none in the kingdom for less than £1, or \$5; nor is it believed that more than \$400,000,000 of gold is left in the United States, after the excess of exports since 1888. With less than \$200,000,000 of gold in the banks, and \$200,000,000 in the country, and paper all redeemable in gold, what a prospect for a country like ours! Would such a system stand? Surely not long. Let no one be deluded with the notion that the basis of our money can be reduced to gold alone, and at the same time the volume of currency be increased, or even be maintained long at its present limits.

The issue here is between a broader basis of primary money and a relatively smaller volume of credit currency based upon it, and a narrower basis with a larger superstructure of credit. Which is the safer? which is best? It is no answer to say that ninety-five per cent of the business of the country is done with credit devices. In the first place, that is not true, as can be demonstrated. In the next place, whatever the proportion may be, the utmost limit of this sort of credit has been attained in our enormously extended system of bank credits; and the larger this structure is, the greater the collapse when the drain of gold comes. The idea, or want of idea, that some have, that it does not matter whether there is much or little gold, if there is only confidence, is well exhibited in the definition of standard of value quoted by Sir Robert Peel in his speech of May 6, 1844, as a sample of ideas then afloat, "The standard is

neither gold nor silver, but it is something set up in the imagination, to be regulated by public opinion."

No, this country will not accept a precarious gold basis without a gold currency, and with no supply of gold to meet the demands of increasing population and wealth; nor a currency based upon it, issued and controlled by private banking institutions, whether secured or not by bonds or other evidences of debt. The principle is unsound; it is vicious all through, and will only bring trouble. If silver is abandoned and the automatic regulation of standard money through the production of the mines is given up, the demand will be for the issue of money by the government, regulated in amount by some definite proportion between the volume of money, on the one hand, and population and wealth on the other, with provision for an annual increment that will maintain the proportion between the money volume and population and wealth as nearly constant as possible. And this would be more rational and far safer than any scheme founded on a gold basis with a credit currency issued by innumerable banks. This would be a substitution of legislative regulation for automatic regulation through the production of the mines. It would be the substitution of the "vagaries of legislation" for "the uncertainties of the mines."

The contest is really between these two principles; for it is impossible that the gold basis alone, with private issues of currency, can ever gain a firm footing in this country. There is too much intelligence abroad in the United States to permit the adoption of a system that has been discarded by every nation of Europe.

Which, then, shall it be—gold and silver automatically regulated by the production of the mines, with free coinage of both metals as it had been for indefinite ages before 1873, supplemented by Treasury notes under such limitations and regulations as will secure at all times the ready convertibility of the paper into the metals; or paper money issued by the government, under such regulations as Congress from time to time may impose?

In other words, shall it be silver with automatic regulation through production, or fiat money under legislative regulation?

This question, it is believed, is freighted with conse-

quences of greater moment to the people of this country and of the world than any other now under discussion. For if bimetallism is destroyed, the automatic regulation of money will go with it, and the entire volume of silver money now in the world must be withdrawn, for it will soon cease to be worth more than a small percentage of its normal value. What this involves can be better imagined than described. Moreton Frewen is doubtless right when he says such a contraction "would leave not a bank or mortgage company standing in the entire western hemisphere." Hence, if metallic money falls with the failure of automatic regulation, gold must go also.

AIONIAN PUNISHMENT NOT ETERNAL.

BY W. E. MANLEY, D. D.

THIS heading will be understood by all who know that the original of *eternal* in the expression "eternal punishment," is the Greek word *aionios* (αἰώνιος). I propose to analyze the word, and show the usage of all its forms, (1) in the Old Testament, (2) in the New Testament, (3) in classic Greek authors, (4) in Jewish writings, and finally, (5) in the early Christian fathers.

Aionios comes from *aion*; and this last is generally regarded as composed of two smaller words, *aei* (ἀει) *always*, and *ōn* (ὦν) *being*. Then *aion* is found in a number of different forms, all of which will be exhibited and commented on; after which I will name several words that are found in the New Testament, having the meaning of eternal or endless, but *never employed in the Bible to express the duration of punishment*.

I. *The Old Testament*. On this part of the Bible I need not employ much time, for the reason that the Hebrew words (and there are several such) which have a meaning similar to that of *aion* or *aionios*, have these last as renderings in the Greek version of the Old Testament, and these must be presumed to have the same meaning there as they have in the New Testament; and what this is will be fully shown in this article. But in doing this, I shall not deny myself the privilege of making references to that part of the Scriptures, when necessary for proof or illustration.

II. *The New Testament*. The only part of *aion* that has any duration in it, expressed or implied, is the little adverb *aei*. It occurs eight times in the New Testament, and is translated *always*, both in the old and new versions, in every instance but one. I will quote enough of each passage to give the sense.

The multitude began to ask Pilate to do as he had *ever* done to them (Mark xv. 8). The revisers have it, "as he was wont to do." "As he had always done," would have

made all the renderings uniform. Ye do always resist the Holy Spirit (Acts vii. 51). We . . . are always delivered unto death (2 Cor. iv. 11). Always rejoicing (2 Cor. vi. 10). Cretans are always liars (Titus i. 12). They do always err (Heb. iii. 10). Being ready always to give an answer (1 Pet. iii. 15). I shall be ready always to put you in remembrance (2 Pet. i. 12).

The word is used precisely as we use *always*, not so much to denote duration as constancy. The first passage shows the meaning of all the rest. Pilate had been governor of Judea about five years. But this had nothing to do with the demand of the multitude. They asked him to do as he had constantly done before. The use of the present tense, in all but the first passage, is confirmation of this view. The word denotes continuity of action, and not perpetuity — what is being done, and not what will be done. Punishment that has no more duration than what is contained in this word is not objectionable. The wicked are *always* punished.

But it is said that when *aei* and *ōn* are united, the meaning is "always being," and that is eternal. Not exactly. There is a great difference between always being, and always continuing to be. The latter idea is not in the words. Besides, this *aion*, "always being," is said to have an end. There are five instances of this kind in the New Testament. These will come before us in due time. I will now give the different forms in which this word is presented.

1. It is used of past time, and is generally rendered world. Since the world began (Luke i. 70, John ix. 32, Acts iii. 21). From the beginning of the world (Acts xv. 18, Eph. iii. 9). Before the world (1 Cor. ii. 7). From ages, (Col. i. 26). One cannot help seeing that here a limited period is intended. If the past denoted by this term is limited, the future must be. Besides, some of these are in the plural; the last is of this kind. There can be but one unlimited period — two eternities is a contradiction in terms.

2. *Aion* is rendered world, and is found in the expression "*this world*," which implies "*that world*," thus constituting two unlimited periods. As this cannot be, *aion* cannot denote an unlimited period. (See Matt. xiii. 22, Mark iv. 19, Luke xvi. 8, Rom. xii. 2, 1 Cor. i. 20, ii. 6, iii. 18, 2 Cor. iv. 4, Gal. i. 4, Eph. vi. 12, 1 Tim. vi. 17, 2 Tim. iv. 10, Tit. ii. 12.) I would add that *world* is not a correct translation,

though our argument is not affected by this circumstance. Both world and age are equally limited terms.

3. *Aion* is found in the expression "world to come" (Mark x. 30, Luke xviii. 30, Heb. vi. 5). Ages to come (Eph. ii. 7). "This world and that which is to come," is found in Matt. xii. 32, Eph. i. 20. It requires no remark to show that here *aion* cannot denote an unlimited period. It should be added, however, to prevent misunderstanding, that the world or age to come is not the future state of existence, but, as Dr. Clarke and others contend, the age of the Messiah, about to succeed the Jewish dispensation. Such was the usage of Jewish writers in the time of Christ. But the principal passages make this plain by the use of an important word, *omitted in the version*.

For some reason, "best known to themselves," the translators and revisers have left out an important word, found in Matt. xii. 32, Eph. i. 20, and Heb. vi. 5, which, if used, would make "the world to come," to be "the world *about* to come," or near at hand. This could not be said of the immortal world, for, in one sense, that world has existed from the beginning, and, in another sense, it has not yet come, and will not, while this world stands. But the kingdom of God, or Christian dispensation, was about to come, and the Jewish economy was soon to terminate, to make room for it. Though Jesus was on earth, he represents his mission as future, though at hand and about to come. He was preparing for it.

On Matt. xii. 32, which says, "The sin against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in that which is [about] to come," Dr. Adam Clarke has the following: "I am fully satisfied that the meaning of the words is, neither in this dispensation, namely, the Jewish, nor in that which is to come, namely, the Christian. *Olam habo*, the world to come, is a constant phrase for the times of the Messiah, in Jewish writers." Bishop Pierce, Wakefield, and many others hold the same opinions.

4. In the following passages, the end of the world (*aion*) is mentioned, meaning the end of the Jewish economy, at which time the Christian dispensation would begin; for the words of Dr. Clarke are as applicable here as to the other passage. (See Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 20, Heb. ix. 26, 1 Cor. x. 11.) All I refer to these passages for

is to show that *aion* does not denote an eternity of duration, and this requires no argument. The last passage referred to, 1 Cor. x. 11, declares that the *ends* of the *worlds* (ages) had come on the apostles, meaning, I suppose, that in their day one age, the Jewish, ended, and the other, the Christian, began. This proves that *ages* and not *worlds* are intended by *aion*.

5. *Aion* is used in an adverbial phrase, and rendered *forever*. Its form is *eis ton aiona* (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα), literally, *to the age*. (See Matt. xxi. 19, Mark xi. 14, Luke i. 55, John vi. 51, 58, viii. 35, xii. 34, xiv. 16, 2 Cor. ix. 9, Heb. v. 6, vi. 20, vii. 17, 21, 1 Pet. i. 23, 25, 2 Pet. ii. 17, iii. 18, 1 John ii. 17, 2 John i. 2, Jude 13.) These are all the places of this kind in the New Testament. The same form is found in the Hebrew; and it evidently originated in the Old Testament, when everything was thought of with reference *to the age* of the Messiah. The possession of Canaan, the priesthood, and all the Mosaic institutions were to continue *to the age*, meaning the Messianic age. The expression *to the age* limits itself; for what is to be *to* a certain period, is limited by that period. Though this seems to be the origin of the expression, it is often used, both in the Old Testament and the New, with no reference to any future period; and in such cases, it must be understood according to the nature of the subject. The servant served his master *eis ton aiona*, that is, during life. When a priest filled his office *eis ton aiona*, it also was during life.

6. It is used in the same way as above, only that both the *aion* and the article are in the plural, thus, *eis tons aionas* (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας), *to the ages*. (See Matt. vi. 13, Luke i. 33, Rom. i. 25, ix. 5, xi. 36, xvi. 27, 2 Cor. xi. 31, Heb. xiii. 8.) There does not appear to be any difference between this form and the preceding. They are used and translated in the same way.

7. There is still another form, called the double plural. The form is *eis tons aionas ton aionon* (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) *to the ages of the ages*. This is translated *forever and ever*. Of course it is supposed to denote much more than either of the other forms, which is saying that the other forms do not denote an eternal duration. Neither does this denote eternal duration; nor is this possible, with the word *aion*, give it as many reduplications as you please; for if one

aion does not mean eternity, no number of them can have this meaning. (See Gal. i. 5, Phil. iv. 20, 1 Tim. i. 17, 2 Tim. iv. 18, Rev. i. 6.)

The same form is found in the Old Testament in a limited sense. To the children of Israel Jehovah says, "I will cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, forever and ever," *olam ad olam* (Jer. vii. 7). Of Idumea it is said, "None shall pass through it forever and ever," *netsah netsahim* (Isa. xxxiv. 10); Septuagint, "from age to age."

In the Vulgate or Latin version, the form above given is translated *secula seculorum*, ages of ages, exactly as it is in the Greek, and in the margin of the Revised Version. Of the three similar forms, the last expresses the most, and is still limited; from which it follows that the others are still more limited. Ages of ages, if taken literally, is a long period, but eternity is a *trifle* longer.

8. *Aionios* may be considered a form of *aion*; for it is derived from it, and takes all its significance therefrom. If eternal duration is not in the noun, it cannot be in the adjective. A stream cannot rise higher than the fountain from which it flows. If *aion* means world, as the translators have rendered it a few times, then *aionios* means worldly, or long as the world stands. If *aion* mean age, as sometimes rendered, then *aionios* means belonging to the age, or age lasting.

The corresponding word, with a similar form, in the Old Testament, denotes the duration of the Mosaic dispensation. It is probable that in the New Testament it is employed in the same way, to denote the duration of the Christian economy. This is as far as one can safely go, in view of the facts that have been developed. But some hold that the word denotes not the duration but some other quality or attribute of the Christian religion. Assuming that *aionios* denotes duration, whatever else is implied, the duration cannot extend beyond the end of the Messiah's reign, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father, and God shall be all in all (1 Cor. xv. 22-28).

(1) Instead of introducing a large number of passages, which the limited space allowed to this paper will not permit, I will notice those that relate to retribution, or reward and punishment. There is no word so commonly employed to

denote the effect of faith and obedience as *life*, often called aionian life. The reason of this usage is found in the fact that unbelievers and bad men are said to be dead, and when converted, to pass out of death into life. In the Revision the rendering is uniformly eternal life. (See Matt. xix. 16, Mark v. 17, Luke x. 25, xviii. 18, Matt. xix. 29, Mark x. 30, Luke xviii. 30, Matt. xxv. 46, John iii. 15, 16, 36, iv. 14, 36, v. 24, 39, vi. 27, 40, 47, 54, 68, x. 28, xii. 25, 50, xvii. 2, 3, Acts xiii. 46, 48, Rom. ii. 7, vi. 22, 23, Gal. v. 8, 1 Tim. i. 16, vi. 12, 19, Tit. i. 2, iii. 7, 1 John i. 2, ii. 25, iii. 15, v. 11, 13, 20, Jude 21.) It must not be forgotten that aionian or eternal life is enjoyed the moment a man becomes a Christian. He "passes out of death into life." "He *hath* eternal life," is often affirmed. He hath it, and he continues to have it, so long as he remains a believer. But he may renounce his faith, and what then? Is that eternal life to a man which he enjoys only for a day or a year?

If this word mean spiritual, or Christian, there is no impropriety in saying that the man has it, if it is but for a brief period; but not if we give the word the sense of eternal, unless one take the position, "Once in grace always in grace." On the other hand, eternal punishment runs parallel with eternal life, and one can as surely be suffered here as the other can be enjoyed here. But suppose the bad man becomes a Christian, and "passes out of death into life," his eternal punishment is of short duration. Call it severe, disciplinary, paternal, or moral, and the absurdity disappears. It is difficult to say exactly how the word ought to be translated; but it is not difficult to see that it ought not to be translated eternal. If punishment can be eternal, though no one will ever suffer eternally, as some men have argued, then there is no such difficulty as that just alluded to. The punishment is eternal, in the sense that it will always be suffered by the evil doer; and the knowledge of this fact, it is thought, will exert a restraining influence throughout eternity. That God is eternally just, and that sin will be punished, whenever and wherever it exists, no sensible man will deny. But may we not hope that, in the distant future, men will come to understand so well in what their highest happiness consists as not to need even the thought of punishment to keep them in the path of righteousness?

(2) In various forms of expression, *aionios* is applied to

punishment in the following passages: Eternal fire (Matt. xviii. 8, 25, 41, Jude 7). Eternal punishment (Matt. xxv. 46). Eternal destruction (2 Thess. i. 9). Eternal judgment (Heb. vi. 2). Eternal damnation (Mark iii. 29) has become, in the hands of the revisers, eternal sin. This is the sin against the Holy Spirit, which in the parallel passage is limited by the two ages to which it is confined, and is not, therefore, eternal, as we commonly use the word. Not one of these passages has any reference to future punishment. The fire of gehenna, employed to represent punishment, went out long ago, and could not denote an unlimited punishment. All the facts developed in this investigation go to prove that *aionios* cannot denote an eternal punishment. Matt. xxv. 46, containing "eternal life" and "eternal punishment," and more frequently adduced to prove the common theory than any other, is wholly irrelevant to the purpose, and would appear so to any one who should look at the whole passage, and not at the concluding verse alone. The parable represents the reign of Christ, which began at the close of the Jewish dispensation and is still in progress. The gathering of the nations before him represents the progress of the gospel. Most of the nations have been thus gathered, and the work is still going on; the separation goes on at the same time, with its aionian life and aionian punishment. Who ever heard of a king having but one separation, and that at the end of his reign? At the close of this reign, no mention is made of a separation, nor of punishment. Paul mentions two things—the destruction of all evil things (1 Cor. xv. 24, 26), and the subjection of all intelligent moral beings, God alone excepted (verses 27, 28).

It is argued that, because the happiness of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked are both called eternal, the duration of the one must be the same as that of the other; which is admitted: but it is not admitted that either is eternal, or that these terms refer to the future life.

The word *aion* has been transferred, by legitimate changes, into the Latin language. *Aion* becomes *ævum*, which has the meaning of life, lifetime, time, period, age, men of an age, etc. From *ævum* come *avitas* and briefer *ætas*, both having essentially the same meaning as *ævum*. From this last comes *æviternus*, and this becomes *æternus*; and hence our word *eternal*. But none of these, not even *æternus*, has

generally the sense of eternal. (See "Retribution," E. Beecher, pp. 252-53). Mr. Beecher gives examples from Virgil, Plautus, Cicero, Ovid, Pliny, and others, of the use of *æternus*, in a limited sense, showing that it denotes during life. So Facciolatus, in his great lexicon, says of this word, "It is *very frequently* used to denote *what endures for life*." This is the word for eternal in Matt. xxv. 46; and in those places in which *aion* is translated *world*, the Latin is *seculum*, age, as was shown to be correct before the Vulgate was consulted. This is a decided confirmation of the views that have been advanced concerning *aion* and *aionios*. The fact shows that the first advocates of eternal misery who used the Latin language, had no more to help their defence of the doctrine than they would have had from the original Greek.

III. *Classic Authors*. Here, fortunately, I can avail myself of the labors of another. Rev. E. S. Goodwin of Sandwich, Mass., entered on the investigation of the usage of *aion* and *aionios* in the Greek classics, A. D. 1828, and published the result in the *Christian Examiner* till 1833, when the work stopped on account of his death. But he had examined a large number of books, and accumulated a long list of quotations, from Homer down to Plato. I can only refer to a portion of them, and state the result.

(a) *Homer*. Iliad iv. 478, xvii. 302, ix. 415, v. 685, xvi. 453, xix. 27. Odyssey v. 152, 160, vii. 224, ix. 523, xvii. 203.

(b) *Hesiod*. Scut. Herc. 331, Prometh. 860, Sep. con. Theb. 219, 774, Persæ 263, Suppl. 47, 570, Agam. 230, 249, 556, 716, 1150, Chæph. 24, 348, Eumen. 315, 360. In all the above, *aion* is used in the sense of human life. Hesiod has an example of special interest. He speaks of the "ceaseless life" of Jupiter, using *aion* for life, but another word for ceaseless, a convincing proof that *aion* alone did not answer his purpose.

(c) *Pindar*. Olym. ii. 18, 121, ix. 153, Pyth. iii. 153, iv. 331, v. 8, viii. 139, Nem. ii. 11, iii. 130, Isthm. iii. 29, vii. 59, viii. 27. In some of these, age is better than life, but life is generally the meaning.

(d) *Sophocles*. Electra 1030, 1091, Ajax. Flag. 657, Antig. 589, Œdip. Colon. 1812, Trachinia 2, 34, Philoct. 179, 1390, Œdip. Tir. 526, Ajax. Flag. 195, Antig. 999, Œdip. Col. 149, Trachin. 81. This author uses the expres-

sion "long-enduring life," employing *aion* for life, but another word for long enduring; so that *aion* is neither eternal nor long enduring.

(e) *Aristotle*. De Mundo cap. 2, 5, 7, Metaph. lib. xiv. cap. 7, De Cœlo lib. i. cap. 10, lib. ii. cap. 1, lib. i. cap. 9. This author uses the words, "From one unlimited life, or age, to another." He employs *aion* for life, or age, but uses *aterminos* (ἀτέμνως) for unlimited. He also speaks of life or age, continuous and eternal, using *aidios* for eternal. He also says, "The entire heaven is one and eternal" (*aidios*).

(f) *Euripides*. Hec. 754, Orest. 596, 971, Phœniss. 1498, Med. 245, 645, Hippol. 1123, Androm. 1218, Suppl. 1008, Iphigen. in Aul. 1517, in Taur. 1129, Bacch. 92, Suppl. 962, Iphigen. in Aul. 552, Bacch. 426, Phœniss. 1537, Med. 426, Bacch. 395, Hiral. 903, Ion. 637, Phœniss. 1545, Suppl. 1087, Helen 215, Ion. 126, Herc. Fur. 673.

(g) *Plato*. Protag. vol. I. p. 345, Georg. p. 448, De Leg. lib. iii. vol. II. p. 701, lib. ii. vol. II. p. 368. Till Plato, *aionios* is not found; nor is it frequent with him. It is properly rendered *lifelong*; nor could it well be otherwise, considering the uniformity with which *aion* is used in the sense of life.

These are not all the instances of the use of *aion* in these authors; but they are sufficient for our purpose, nor would the result be different if there were twice as many. It is evident at a glance that in these writings eternal is no part of the meaning of *aion* or *aionios*. The latter can hardly be considered a classical word, it is so seldom used. Though these writers often had occasion to employ words having the meaning of eternal, they never use either of these in this sense. The word that occurs most frequently in this way is *aidios*.

IV. *The Antiquities of the Jews*, written by Josephus, belongs nearly to the time of the New Testament; and we may reasonably suppose that the usage of *aion* and *aionios* will be similar in the two. Though Josephus often employs both these words, he never uses them in an unlimited sense. The following examples are a fair illustration of his manner of employing them. He says Esau should obtain renown forever (ὅτι αἰῶνος). The landmarks of the Jews would last forever (ὡς αἰῶνα). A Roman senator desired that the quiet of the country might remain *for all time* (εἰς πάντα

αἰῶνα). The remembrance of the patriarchs is called everlasting (αἰώνιον). The Jewish soldiers were promised everlasting (αἰώνιον) celebrity. The fame of Herod was everlasting (αἰώνιον). Antiq. I. xviii. 8, IV. viii. 18, XIX. ii. 2, I. xiii. 4, XII. vii. 3, XX. x. 5.

But when Josephus expresses the idea of endlessness, he employs other words, generally *aidios*. He says the Pharisees believed that "The souls of the base were allotted to an endless prison," using *aidios* for endless. He tells us that the Essenes believed in "incessant punishments" for the wicked, again using *aidios*.

Philo, a learned Jew of Alexandria, in Egypt, wrote extensively, near the time of Christ and the apostles. He employed these words in the same manner as Josephus. He uses *aionios* for temporal punishment, but *aidios* for expressing the idea of eternal. All Jewish writers who made use of the Greek language wrote much after the style of the Greek Old Testament; and as the New Testament writers did the same, we may judge the one class by the other. From all of them we may learn the Old Testament usage of these terms; and it is a fair inference that the New Testament will not digress greatly from the Greek Old Testament, with which all Jews were familiar.

V. *The Early Christians*. Among the Christians of the first three centuries with whose writings we are acquainted, *aion* and *aionios* were freely used to denote future limited punishment. I say *limited*, for most of them held either to the annihilation of the wicked or to their universal restoration to holiness and happiness. Justin Martyr calls the punishment of the wicked aionian, or everlasting, though he held to their annihilation. The Sibylline Oracles repeatedly called punishment everlasting (*aionios*), but taught that it would end in restoration, in answer to the earnest petition of the righteous. "Of the Orthodox writers, nearly all allude to, or expressly assert, a future judgment and a future state of punishment. Seven — namely, Barnabas, Hermas, Sibylline Oracles, Justin Martyr, Relation of Polycarp's Martyrdom, Theophilus, and Irenæus — call it the everlasting, the eternal fire or torment; but out of these there were certainly three who did not think it endless, since two of them believed the damned would be annihilated, and the other asserted their restoration to bliss" (H. Ballou, D. D.).

Of Origen, who was later than the foregoing, and the most renowned of all the church fathers, before or after, and withal a believer in universal restoration, Mr. Ballou says, "In all his works, Origen freely uses the expressions, everlasting fire, everlasting punishment, etc., without any explanation, such as our modern prepossessions would render necessary to prevent a misunderstanding." Is it to be supposed that such a man as Origen, who made the Bible his constant study, and was perfectly at home in the Greek language, did not know how these terms were used in the New Testament? Or shall we say that he used them in a manner different from the New Testament usage? Neither supposition is admissible. Though Origen had views of punishment which he might not have been able to prove from the New Testament, it is not likely that he differed widely from the New Testament writers in the sense he attached to the words under consideration.

If the question were asked, How came these terms, more particularly *aionios*, to be interpreted in an unlimited sense, after they had for centuries been understood and explained differently by the leading men in the church? the answer is not difficult. As the church changed, and converts to Christianity who had before held the doctrine of eternal misery multiplied, the word *aionios* took on a meaning to meet the wants of the popular faith. Tertullian was the first to advance the argument, from Matt. xxv. 46, that the punishment of the wicked was of the same duration as the happiness of the righteous, assuming that both are in the future world. But Augustine, at a later period, urged this argument with much greater effect, both because he was a man of more talent and wider influence, and because the church was more generally willing and prepared to receive the doctrine which the argument was designed to support. Neither of these men had any knowledge of the Greek language. When this usage became general, the new meaning was firmly established.

The thought may occur to some, that as most of the New Testament writers were not learned men, they may not have known of any stronger terms for expressing the duration of punishment than those which they actually employ. This is surely a great misfortune, if the doctrine of eternal punishment is of God, who desired to reveal it to the world; for

millions may perish, who might have been saved if the doctrine had been presented to them in suitable terms! But it so occurs that the New Testament contains some of the strongest terms in the Greek language for expressing eternal duration. The plea of ignorance cannot be accepted.

(1) *Aidios* is found in Rom. i. 20, and is applied to the power and divinity of God. The same word is found in Jude 6, and is figuratively applied to the divine laws in nature, called *chains* or bonds, by which men and angels are held, till they are properly punished. If punishment itself had been denoted by this term, its eternal duration would have been established beyond dispute. The revisers have rendered this word *everlasting*; while the same word, as the rendering of *aionios*, in the Old Version, is dropped out, and eternal is put in its place, from the supposition, apparently, that the latter is a stronger term. Thus *aionios* has the stronger rendering, and *aidios* the weaker! There is more policy in this than honesty.

(2) *Akatalutos* occurs once, Heb. vii. 16, and is found in the expression "endless life," referring apparently to the immortal life. But the expression "endless punishment," is not found, so much as once, in the Bible — not for want of terms to express it, but *for some other reason*.

(3) *Aperantos* is the word for *endless*, in the expression "endless genealogies," 1 Tim. i. 4, referring to the genealogy of the pagan gods, apparently, and not to human genealogies, which are not endless. But this word is never associated with punishment. There are some more in the language, as *aterminos*, *adialeptos*, *atleutetos*, etc., that could have been borrowed for the occasion, if necessary. Besides, it is not difficult, in almost any language, to say of punishment that it is without end, or has no end; but even this easy and simple method is not adopted in the New Testament.

The only rational conclusion is, that AIONIAN PUNISHMENT IS NOT ETERNAL.

VI. But there are a few considerations that will confirm the conclusion here arrived at, which I wish to add.

First, that the doctrine of eternal punishment, if it is a part of divine revelation, was not made known to the world till four thousand years had passed away. Hear what Dr. Edward Beecher says on this subject: "The only form of retribution prominently presented in the Old Testament, as

existing for four thousand years, was temporal, and did not refer to the spiritual world and a future state. . . . What is meant is this, that in the law of Moses, taken as a law, a rule of life, individual or national, there is not one motive derived from a future state and its retributions. All is derived from this world and the present life. . . . The same is also true of the patriarchal dispensation, and of the world before the flood. . . . If we examine this whole governmental system, for four thousand years, so far as express promises or threats are concerned, we cannot infer from it any knowledge or thought of a future life, or of any retributions beyond this life." Mr. Beecher wrote the above statements after a most thorough examination of the Old Testament; and it may be added that he is probably the most learned of the remarkable family whose name he bears, unless we include in the family one who does not bear the name, that is, the late Professor Stowe, who may have been his equal. Nor is Dr. Beecher the only one who has taken this position. Bishop Warburton, in his "Legation of Moses"; Jahn, in his "Biblical Archæology"; Dr. George Campbell, in his "Preliminary Dissertations," and, if I mistake not, Milman, in his "History of the Jews," all take substantially the same position.

What is the conclusion? It is that the Creator of man and of the universe allowed millions on millions of human beings, made in his own image, to live and sin and die, sinking to eternal perdition, without the least intimation of the terrible doom that awaited them! We may be perfectly certain that if this doctrine was not revealed for four thousand years, *it was not revealed at all*. If it is not revealed in the Old Testament, it is not in the New, a more glorious revelation.

Second. It required more than five hundred years for the doctrine of eternal misery to become fully established in the church. Hear again what Dr. Beecher says: "Thus it appears, by applying penetrating tests to history, that the modern orthodox views as to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as opposed to the final restoration, were not fully established till the middle of the century; and that they were not established then by thorough argument, but by imperial authority" (Retribution, p. 246). What does this imply? It implies a very small beginning and very slow progress.

It implies that there was little or none of it in the early church; and when it was introduced, it "made haste slowly." It implies that, for a long time, the great body of believers found in the religion of Christ something which they thought better in itself and better supported by the teachings of the gospel.

Third. What we learn of the theological schools in the early church confirms the opinion that eternal punishment had few believers for several centuries. While the Christians who held to universal restoration had four theological schools, well attended, from which ministers were constantly going out to preach the gospel, believers in the opposite doctrine *had not a solitary school*. On this point, Dr. Beecher has been misunderstood. He speaks of six theological schools, in one of which eternal punishment was taught, and in one annihilation, while the four taught universal restoration. But as he afterwards explains the matter, it appears that the first two were not schools at all, but communities or "schools of thought," in which these doctrines were held. But the four schools were real schools, "theological seminaries," each with suitable buildings, a president, professors, and pupils. And these four were all the schools of this kind in Christendom. They were located at Alexandria in Egypt, Cæsarea in Palestine, Antioch, and Edessa or Nisibis, in Syria. The two "schools of thought" were one in Asia Minor and one in North Africa. In the first, annihilation was believed; in the last, eternal punishment. The inference is that these people were few. Besides, if they wanted ministers, the four Universalist schools could send them the very best men, fully equipped for their work and having no occasion for being ashamed.

Fourth. The church was comparatively pure, so long as it was in the minority, and subject to persecution, but when it became numerous, and especially after it was the established religion of the Roman empire, under Constantine and his successors, it rapidly became corrupt. And it is a significant and remarkable fact, that the very date assigned by Dr. Beecher to the full development and establishment of the doctrine of eternal punishment, is coincident with the beginning of the thousand years of the Dark Ages, ending with the Reformation. It was not the thousand years during which Satan was bound, for he had full sway; and nearly all,

from the highest to the lowest, in the church and out of the church, became his willing votaries.

Nor was the floodtide of corruption in the least checked by the terrors of damnation, which were hurled in thunder tones from every pulpit in Christendom. That the doctrine of eternal damnation prevailed universally at such a time, and with such results, is a fact that surely does not bestow much honor on the doctrine, especially when we reflect that it did not grow up in the church, but was brought in and afterwards held independent of divine revelation or Christian teaching.

MR. INGALLS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG.

ONLY a little while ago, ex-Senator Ingalls was the most pronounced orator in the land against the rapid concentration of capital. Since his fall from office he has lashed himself with increasing industry into prominence as the defender of what he so recently and conspicuously assailed. At heart, Mr. Ingalls is perhaps as nearly as may be a socialist. That is to say, his aggressive intellectual proclivity would swerve him naturally, if not almost irrepressibly, toward industrial democracy. But by history he has been what he has judged he could afford to be. At least that which the country believes it has seen of him in recent years, is the not very commanding spectacle of his cowering before the menace of his state into a disavowal of certain policies and opinions attributed to him relative to politico-economic questions, of his humiliation at the hands of his constituents in spite of the recantation, and of his nimble talents placed once more, in his character as a free lance, unreservedly at the service of the doctrines so lately repudiated. In fact, penance more suppliant and ample than Mr. Ingalls is now again offering at his first altars for brief apostasy on the floor of the Senate might not seem easy to parallel. Certainly the gods whom he serves to-day should be thoroughly placated, were it not for the fatal facility offered by his case of the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, or, concretely speaking, that he has answered himself in advance.

Permitted to be his own historian, Mr. Ingalls would doubtless be able to give a considerably modified version of his alleged public and personal inconsistencies — of what, in short, seem to be generally credited as his almost marvellous feats of moral and mental tergiversation. But certain it is that the light of self contradiction, if not stultification, without corresponding profit, is the light in which Mr. Ingalls has been for several years viewed by the large majority of his fellow citizens who, since his political lapse, have kept

track of his personal career. For this reason his utterances from the platform or through the columns of the newspapers, on economic and other topics, have fallen with diminished impressiveness on the public ear. From another point of view, however, they may be allowed to have a somewhat larger claim to notice — that is, from their wide publicity and from the piquant, even if sometimes flippant, boldness which not infrequently lend them the plausible air of statements of large general principles underlying the subjects which they concern. For it is as undeniably true that Mr. Ingalls has of late set himself the task of giving rhetorical point and force to certain trite generalizations respecting economic questions, as that, less than three years ago, in his ever memorable recantation before the Senate, he placed epigrams in the mouths of those holding views the very opposite of those he now professes concerning these questions. Less scholarly and wise than the great masters of the doctrines of the conservative economy he champions, he is characteristically less prudent in their assertion, thereby offering the tenets he would aid as a peculiarly shining mark to the logic which rends them. For this reason, as well as from the fact that none other has succeeded in compressing into similarly brief compass an equal number of sophisticated misstatements on economic affairs, one is more than commonly tempted to accept Mr. Ingalls for the moment as the especial champion of the doctrines he defends, and to offer such answer as may still be needed in any quarter to their hackneyed iteration.

In order to present fairly the body of argument, if it may so be called, of those who resist propositions for radical industrial reforms, as well as to omit no justice toward Mr. Ingalls, I prefer to quote freely from his recent syndicate letter to the newspapers, his latest publication on this theme. Mr. Ingalls says: —

Utopia is yet an undiscovered country. Ideal perfection in society, like the mirage of the desert, recedes as it is approached. Human nature remains unchanged in every environment. Will, foresight, industry, sobriety, thrift, and economy succeed. Irresolution, folly, idleness, waste, and drunkenness fail. To him that hath is given, and from him that hath not is taken away even that which he seemeth to have. To one is given five talents, to another two, to another one — to every man according to his ability. The wicked and slothful servant digs in the earth and hides his Lord's money, and is cast

into outer darkness to weep and gnash his teeth. The good and faithful servant puts his five talents to the exchangers, and is made ruler over many things.

The condition of the masses is immeasurably bettered with the advance of civilization. The poorest artisan to-day has free enjoyment of comforts and conveniences that monarchs with their treasures could not purchase five centuries ago. But De Tocqueville observed the singular anomaly that as the state of the masses improves they find it more intolerable, and discontent increases. Wants and desires are multiplied more rapidly than the means of gratification. Education, daily newspapers, travel, libraries, parks, galleries, and shop windows have widened the horizon of working men and women, increased their capacity for enjoyment, familiarized them with luxuries and the advantages of wealth. Political instruction has taught them the equality of man and made them acquainted with the power of the ballot. False teachers have convinced them that all wealth is created by labor, and that every man who has more than he can earn with his hands by daily wages is a thief, that the capitalist is a foe, and the millionaire a public enemy who should be outlawed and shot at sight.

Although the tendency to centralization of capital is excessive and should be checked, it is not true that the poverty of the poor is due to the wealth of the rich, nor that the laborer is robbed by the employment of capital. On the contrary, it is those countries where capital is most concentrated that wages are highest and the necessities of life cheapest and most abundant. The statement of Marx, so often repeated, that extreme wealth is the cause of extreme poverty, is a fallacy. It might be correct if it were the partition of the estate of a deceased person among his heirs, or the division of prize money among the captors of a galleon; but as applied to the distribution of the assets of a nation engaged in productive industries by the interchangeable activity of its economic energies, it is an indefensible absurdity to assert that the increase of wealth in one class necessarily involves an increase of poverty in another. Each receives that portion to which it is entitled by its contributions to the common fund of wealth that is created by the combined efforts of labor and capital.

The method of increasing the possessions of the poor is not by compulsory or voluntary transfer from those who have to those who have not, not by the single tax, the abolition of rent, interest, and profits, but by an increase of the aggregated wealth through greater production and wider distribution.

Great private fortunes are inseparable from high civilization. The richest community in the world, *per capita*, at this time is the tribe of Osage Indians. Its aggregate wealth is ten times greater, proportionately, than that of the United States. It is held in common. Community of property may not be the cause of barbarism, but in every state, as social and economic equality is approached and wealth "created by labor" without the intervention of capital, as in China and India, wages are low, the laborer is degraded, and progress impossible. Were the wealth of the United States equally

distributed among its inhabitants at this time, the sum that each would possess, according to the census, would be about one thousand dollars. Were this equation to continue, progress obviously would cease. Had this been the prevalent condition from the beginning we should have remained stationary. Only as wealth becomes concentrated, can nature be subjugated and its forces made subservient to civilization. Until capital, through machinery, harnesses steam, electricity, and gravitation, and exempts man from the necessity of constant toil to procure subsistence, humanity stands still or retrogrades. Railroads, telegraphs, fleets, cities, libraries, museums, universities, cathedrals, hospitals — all the great enterprises that exalt and embellish existence and ameliorate the conditions of human life — come from the conception of money in the hands of the few.

Even if it were desirable to limit accumulations, society possesses no agency by which it can be done. It has no bed of Procrustes upon which to lay its victims. The mind is indomitable. The differences between men are organic and fundamental. They are established by ordinances of the Supreme Power and cannot be repealed by act of Congress. In the contest between brains and numbers, brains have always won and always will.

The social malady is grave and menacing, but the disease is not so dangerous as the doctors and the drugs. The political quacks, with their sarsaparilla and plasters and pills, are treating the symptoms instead of the complaint. The free coinage of silver, the increase of the *per capita*, the restriction of immigration, the Australian ballot, and qualified suffrage are important questions, but they might all be accomplished without effecting the slightest amelioration of the condition of the great masses of the wage workers of the United States. Instead of disfranchising the poor and ignorant, it would be well to increase their wealth and their intelligence, and make them fit to vote. A proscribed class inevitably become conspirators, and free institutions can only be made secure by the education, prosperity, and contentment of those upon whom their existence depends.

All this is not only very characteristic of Mr. Ingalls, but of the logical method of the whole school which he represents. This sort of presentation of a subject is catching and plausible, even slightly glittering. If you do not read it twice you can possibly imagine it to contain truth. Review it or examine its statements, and they are found to be worthless, having no bearing upon conclusions — in short, no relation to argument or reasoning. The vice of this method of treating a subject is that its premises are a haphazard mixture of falsehoods and half-truths, occasionally and fleetingly suggestive, it may be, but leading nowhere. Flavor the mixture with a few touches of pathetic fatalism — to the effect that rich and poor have always existed, that man is a discontented animal, at best, that human legislation is

impotent for remedy — and you have exhausted the argumentative device of the *quasi* economists who in these days are frantically attempting to beat back the rising demand for a juster distribution of the products of civilized industry.

Let us inspect a few specimen bricks of Mr. Ingalls' logical edifice. The illustration will be entertaining. He dreamily tells us that "Utopia is yet an undiscovered country"; that "Ideal perfection in society, like a mirage of the desert, recedes as it is approached."

These misty truisms do not appear to have very directly to do with any matter practically in hand — the matter, for instance, as Mr. Ingalls elsewhere notices, that "One half of the possessions of the American people are under the direct control of less than thirty thousand persons and corporations." If your neighbor reminded you that his family was starving while you and others were revelling in more than abundance, the assurance that "Ideal perfection in human society recedes like a mirage of the desert," etc., would hardly appear to him either in the light of a pertinent reply or a satisfying morsel. An offer to lay an immediate tax on your own and others' superfluity to relieve your neighbor's scarcity would seem to be very much more to the purpose; and if history has not thought of some equally direct and sensible means of lightening human want, or has tried such means ineffectually, so much the worse for old barbarism.

Mr. Ingalls proceeds. "Human nature," he says, "remains unchanged in every environment." We can allow him the platitude. But there are some hundred or more industrial communistic schemes, in active working order, dotted over the face of our modern competitive civilization, and in which we may admit, if Mr. Ingalls so desires, that human nature is unchanged from, and precisely the same as, the human nature in the competitive world outside. There is this difference, however — the greater number of these societies are successful and affluent. There exists within them neither individual riches nor individual poverty. *There is no want* — the difference that separates worlds! But it is the vicious insinuation of Mr. Ingalls' statement, that no human industrial organization is possible to which poverty and want are not essential incidents. If it be his contention simply that socialism, or anything approaching it, is not practicable on a large scale, let him apply himself honestly

to the argument. Sonorous generalizations on the identity of human nature under diversity of environment, in the language of the comic opera, "have nothing to do with the case." There are many excellently well-educated persons now alive, who, seeing that the functions of modern governments are already in part socialistic, and that the wages of government officials, as Mr. Ingalls himself observes, are larger than in any private business, and tending to a more generous distribution of wealth, venture to premise that these socialistic functions may be largely if not indefinitely extended, to the increasing comfort and advantage of society. Such propositions in detail are proper subjects for fair debate. But evasions do not answer for reasons, nor rhetorical indirections for argument.

The next brace of statements introduced to support this curious pleading are similarly in character. Says Mr. Ingalls: "Will, foresight, industry, sobriety, thrift, and economy succeed. Irresolution, folly, idleness, waste, and drunkenness fail," — a bald truth and a bald falsehood side by side! As for the truth, namely, that vice and idleness and their like fail, neither this criticism nor society is largely concerned therewith, as the contention of reformers is not primarily for the vicious. As to the falsehood, that "sobriety, thrift, economy, etc., succeed," Mr. Ingalls has himself refuted it in his reference elsewhere to the man "able and willing to work, who perishes for want of embers, rags, and a crust." One of the saving features of Mr. Ingalls' heresies is that, through his fatal proneness to both sides of a question, given a little rope he invariably hangs himself. But to any actual observer of the facts of our present industrial civilization, none is more striking than that the exercise of any or all of the sententious virtues enumerated by Mr. Ingalls is helpless to guarantee success to any human being; and nowhere does the injustice of our chaotic competitive scheme appear so flagrant and pathetic as in the inequality of its rewards to the actual benefactors of society. This, as will presently be seen, Mr. Ingalls thoroughly knows and admits. But the million of working men in our own country, "able and willing" and chronically out of work, abruptly puts to flight this whole theory in the air as to the necessary success, under our industrial order, of the prudential virtues.

Mr. Ingalls naïvely tells us that "The condition of the masses is immeasurably bettered with the advance of civilization"; that "The poorest artisan to-day has free enjoyment of comforts and conveniences that monarchs with their treasures could not purchase five centuries ago." Recovering from the shock of the originality of this information and of our compassion for the tragically unconvenienced monarchs of the old time, it may be pertinent to suggest that because a feudal prince lacked the luxury of Axminster rugs, is not a particularly relevant reason why, amid the redundancy of carpets, modern working men should be content with bare floors; and that the connection, generally, between mediæval poverty and squalor and the justice of the demand of nineteenth century freemen for an equitable portion of the riches and comforts of their time, is not glaringly conspicuous.

But, following his bent, Mr. Ingalls himself, as will be observed, explains the alleged "anomaly" of this demand with a wonted quotation from the wisdom of De Tocqueville, and it is not necessary to dwell on this hack absurdity, impressed for the needs of argument, further than to remind his readers that feudal poverty itself was more humane than our modern competitive wealth, in that its scheme embraced some guarantee, even though scanty, for the subsistence of the laboring masses.

"False teachers," says Mr. Ingalls, "have convinced working men and women that all wealth is created by labor," — that is, physical labor; which is to say that Mr. Ingalls, accepting the priggish exposition of certain outworn books of pedagogic economy, denies this proposition. All the same, the proposition, in its substantial and widest sense, is irrefragable. With the exception of the contributions to human possession by the rare inventors, and the services of the professional classes, *litterateurs*, and artists — who add, also, at times imaginative values to commercial products (all of which classes tend to remain poor) — the wealth of the world is the result, pure and simple, of manual labor, — "railroads, telegraphs, fleets, cities," and all the rest. The work of "promoters," speculators, so-called captains of industry, etc., does not count against the truth of the statement; since the energy of these classes is not employed in swelling the general wealth of society, but in the seizure of that wealth for the engorgement of personal fortunes.

Stripped of their opportunities for the selfish monopoly of wealth, the organizing talent of these classes, so far as it is exceptional, could readily be hired at a price representing, not as now, the total products corralled and appropriated by them, but its actual service to society. Nothing can be simpler than the demonstration in detail of all that is involved in these plain suggestions. It is the defect of the most ordinary analysis of common industrial facts that makes the failure of the whole school of the bookish and shallow theories which Mr. Ingalls accepts.

He proceeds to instruct us that "Although the tendency to centralization of capital is excessive and should be checked [observe that it is the whole burden of Mr. Ingalls' argument that it cannot be checked], it is not true that the poverty of the poor is due to the wealth of the rich, nor that the laborer is robbed by the employment of capital"; that, "on the contrary, it is in those countries where capital is most concentrated that wages are highest and the necessities of life cheapest and most abundant." This may be considered among the more iridescent examples of what the late Mr. James Russell Lowell might have termed Mr. Ingalls' stern-foremost victories in logic. If, indeed, the poor are not robbed by the wealth of the rich, and labor is most favored in countries where capital is most concentrated, why should the concentration of capital be checked, or ever be regarded as "excessive"? Why, on the other hand, should it not be stimulated and perennially encouraged to the last point? But here, again, Mr. Ingalls' dictum that the poverty of the poor is not due to the wealth of the rich, so far as it has any pertinence to conditions in our own country — which he is supposed to be mainly discussing — is a palpable untruth. The contrary proposition is the fact. Either the thirty thousand persons and corporations which, Mr. Ingalls is fond of assuring us, "own and control more than one half of the wealth of the United States," hold their wealth at the detriment of the great mass of their fellow citizens, or they do not. If they do not, then the statement of this stupendous ownership has no significance unless as an assertion that this paltry handful of Americans have been gifted by nature with powers so marvellous that they have been able to produce more wealth than all the remaining nearly sixty-five millions of their countrymen —

an absurdity so great that it howls for the relief of common sense. It is equally demonstrable that the existence of one million or more of Americans, "able and willing" and yet perennial paupers for the want of opportunity to work, is the immediate result of the control of the nation's wealth under its present congested forms, rather than by its use under a wise co-ordination for the development of the country's waiting resources; the remedy not being here the matter under consideration.

As to the assertion that it is in those countries where capital is most concentrated that wages are highest and the necessities of life are cheapest and most abundant, why does not Mr. Ingalls instruct us that great cities are the localities of densest population, or that, since an ostrich has more feathers than a fish, it follows that locomotion on land is more conducive to the growth of quills than swimming in the sea? Such novelties of information would afford an equally dazzling spectacle of acuteness in reasoning. He would not even have to supplement the exhibition with the statement that the Osage Indians are the richest community in the world *per capita*, as the conclusive demonstration of the decivilizing power of communal wealth.

It is an "indefensible absurdity," he assures us, "to assert that the increase of wealth in one class necessarily involves an increase of poverty in another. Each receives," he says, "that portion to which it is entitled by its contributions to the common fund of wealth that is created by the combined efforts of labor and capital." Upon these essential asseverations it may seem preferable once more to oppose Mr. Ingalls, the economic publicist, with the words of the Kansas statesman who, as recently as the January of a little more than two years ago, startled his constituents and his political associates in the body of which he was a member with the following declaration: "By some means, some device, some machination, some incantation, honest or otherwise, some process that cannot be defined, less than the two-thousandth part of our population have obtained possession, and have kept out of the penitentiary, in spite of the means they have adopted to acquire it, of more than one half of the entire accumulated wealth of the country. That is not the worst, Mr. President. *It has been chiefly acquired by men who have contributed little to the material welfare of the*

country, and by processes that I do not care in appropriate terms to describe." (The italics are by the writer.) This statesman sonorously continued: "A financial system under which more than one half of the enormous wealth of the country, derived from the bounty of nature and the labor of all, is owned by a little more than thirty thousand people, while one million American citizens able and willing to toil are homeless tramps, starving for bread, requires readjustment. A social system which offers to tender, virtuous, and dependent women the alternative between suicide and beggary, is organized crime, for which some day unrelenting justice will demand atonement and expiation." *

Mr. Ingalls is always the happiest protagonist and answer to himself. He leaves the burden easy and grateful to all others who essay the facile task of opposing him.

This is the briefest examination of a few of the specimen bricks, as I prefer to name them, of this representative edifice of reasoning, intended to confound the surging tide of demand, in this and other modern countries, for equity to the industrial masses — the modern people themselves. The rationale and necessity of this demand even Mr. Ingalls' intellect, shifting, flickering, vacillating, unfruitful, as it is, for his own ends or for any consistent ends, is seen to perceive acutely. For the purpose of dissipating his present uneasy conclusions, he has formulated, in the paper under review, the causes of this necessary demand with more than adequate phrasing — "the inequality of fortunes and the obvious injustice of the unequal distribution of wealth among men"; "the existence of hunger when there is an excess of food, of want in the midst of superfluity"; that "one man should have possessions beyond the needs of extravagance to squander, and another, able and willing to work, should perish for want of embers, rags, and a crust. So long," he adds, "as such conditions continue, the key to the cipher in which destiny is written is not revealed, the brotherhood of man is a phrase, justice is a formula, and the divine code illegible."

But turning to the question of what he implies to be the remedies proposed by those "who are engaged in the reconstruction of society," Mr. Ingalls again plunges floundering

* Speech of Hon. John J. Ingalls of Kansas, in the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, Jan. 14, 1891.

into his favorite sea of rhetoric, buffeting men of straw and landing nowhere. "The method," he says, "of increasing the possessions of the poor is not by compulsory or voluntary transfer from those who have to those who have not, not by the single tax, the abolition of rent, interest, and profits, but by an increase of the aggregate wealth through greater production and wider distribution." Certainly, that is the precise question at issue—wider distribution!—the issue he here evades and against which his whole argument is supposed to be intended—if anything clear can be gathered of Mr. Ingalls' logical intentions on any point.

"Great private fortunes," he says, "are inseparable from high civilization." Who has discovered this? The Osage Indians, he asserts, are not duly privy to this secret. Other persons more wise than the Osage may be equally ignorant of the truth of this *ipse dixit*. The examples of history do not give it any conclusive support. On the contrary, they tend to show that wherever in a few hands "wealth accumulates men decay"; that all the great civilizations have swerved abruptly toward ruin from the moment of their dominance by plutocracies—as in the instance of the Roman empire, which, in the time of the Cæsars, as Mr. Ingalls assures us with rhetorical fulness, was practically owned by two thousand lords. Mr. Webster, a statesman whose acuteness may be admitted to have nearly equalled that of Mr. Ingalls, said, "The freest government cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few."

"Railroads, telegraphs, fleets, cities, libraries, museums, universities, cathedrals, hospitals—all the great enterprises that exalt and embellish existence and ameliorate the conditions of life," says Mr. Ingalls, "come from the conception of money in the hands of the few,"—once more a statement so baldly and notoriously untrue that one wonders at the temerity that conceives its utterance; since, on the contrary, again, nearly all the greater monuments of man, present and past, including cathedrals, museums, universities, libraries, fleets, many cities and even railroads, and not a few telegraphs, have been the creations of *public* wealth—from the conception of wealth in the hands of the many.

"Even were it desirable to limit accumulation, society possesses no agency," Mr. Ingalls asserts, "by which it can

be done. It has no bed of Procrustes upon which to lay its victims." Still, to the contrary, society has at its command a hundred expedients, if it chooses, for abridging the accumulation of private fortunes; and no class of rational reformers, so far as can be seen, is hunting for beds of Procrustes upon which to stretch Mr. Ingalls' rhetorical victims. For its actual victims, according to the repeated and perfervid confessions of Mr. Ingalls himself, society prepares and keeps its million of couches of more than Procrustean torture.

"The mind is indomitable," says Mr. Ingalls. "The differences between men are organic and fundamental. They are established by ordinances of the Supreme Power and cannot be repealed by act of Congress. In the contest between brains and numbers, brains have always won and always will." All of which — carefully remembering that in all the great progressive movements of history numbers have also possessed the brains — is unusually excellent oratory and, for Mr. Ingalls, unusually true, but having no slightest bearing, earthly or other, upon certain very simple and practicable remedies against the encroachment of private fortunes upon the rights of the many — to wit, the remedies so successfully employed in recent years by scores of English and American cities, of assuming public control of municipal functions, such as the supplying of water, gas, transportation, etc., thereby cutting off, as they have done in single localities, millions of dollars from the possible possessions of the hitherto alleged "brains," and transferring them to the pockets of the hitherto plundered "numbers." Despite airy generalizations, the process of such clear remedies against the "indomitable might of brains" appears to be susceptible of various and indefinite extension. As Mr. Ingalls rightly apprehends, the conception of this process includes the already triumphant scheme in several countries of the absorption for the public good of the railroads and telegraphs, whose management in private hands, by his admission, has been guilty of "shameless robbery, gambling, and extortion, and has piled up stupenduous fortunes by practices that are as repugnant to financial integrity as they are shocking to public conscience."

Recurring, in conclusion, to certain preliminary utterances of Mr. Ingalls in his recent paper, there may be noted strains

like the following: "At last, after much random groping and many bloody and desperate combats with kings and dynasties, privilege, caste, and prerogative, old abuses, formerly intrenched orders, titles, and classes, the ultimate ideal of government has been realized and the people are supreme. The poor, the toilers, the laborers, are the rulers. They make the laws; they form the institutions. Louis XIV. said, 'I am the state.' Here the wage workers, the farmers, the blacksmiths, the fisherman, the artisans, say, 'We are the state.' Confiscation, pillage, and the enrichment of royal favorites are unknown. Every man, whatever may be his nativity, faculty, education, morality, has an equal chance with every other in the race of life." Here it may be parenthetically recalled that this latter argument is the favorite advertisement of the Louisiana lottery swindle.

Our orator continues: "Legislation, whether good or bad, is enacted by the majority, and bears equally upon all. The means of education are widely diffused, and the desire to know and the opportunities for happiness are commensurate with the capacity to enjoy." Closing this patriotic burst, Mr. Ingalls, with the familiar Professor Sullivan rush, rides once more to his self-unhorsing: "*Vaster political power,*" he tells us, "*is consolidated in the hands of the few, and more stupendous fortunes are acquired by individuals under a republic than under a monarchy. The great gulf between the rich and the poor yawns wider and wider day by day.*" (The italics are not Mr. Ingalls'.) He further informs us that the "largest private fortunes in the world have been accumulated in the last half century in the United States"; that we have "scores of men whose annual incomes exceed in amount the entire fortunes of Morris and Washington, the richest men in the country less than a century ago, and one American estate that surpasses the assessed valuation of the four smallest states of the Union when the government was established, in 1789." Surely, this is confession with a vengeance of the political power of the majority in the republic, and of the "limitless opportunities of the masses for happiness commensurate with the capacity to enjoy"! and this is reasoning requiring no commentary "save the sound of its own dashings"!

Mr. Ingalls may not be called pusillanimous. The high office in which he has gained the ear of the public, even for

such pitiful maunderings as these, forbids the charge. We would not do him a personal wrong. But could exhibition more abject of intellectual cross purposes, of self-inflicted mental confusion and defeat, be demanded of the intellectually lost than the employment of such suicidal logical gymnastics as these to establish inference for an anti-social cause! Let the promptings be from what source they may, such wasting battles of mind with itself are their own spectacle and commentary.

"To admit that ignorance, wretchedness, disease, want, poverty, and degradation of society are inevitable and irremediable is to impeach God," says Mr. Ingalls; and then proceeds to characterize as "vagaries" and "chimeras" all struggle and suggestion prompted by the honest human heart to lift the degradation from our kind. To the brain and race that profess to be in any measure free for the ends of progress, such fatalism is worse than miserable—it is mindless; it is more than mindless, it is maudlin. Its inference is in accord neither with history nor with fact.

"If," says Mr. Ingalls, "the unequal distribution of the burdens and benefits of society depends upon legislation, institutions, and government, then under a system like ours the equilibrium should be restored. If wealth results from unjust laws, and poverty from legislative oppression, the remedy is in the hands of the victims." Assuredly! Who, save Mr. Ingalls and his fellow fatalists, denies it? All intelligent reformers assert it. It is simply a question of the education of the conscience and will of the people. The problem is compact in that. With many a far-fetched, glittering phrase the school of Mr. Ingalls asserts that the will of the people is helpless in the presence of industrial wrong, that legislation is impotent, that institutions are unchangeable, that the power of cunning to oppress and of human greed to control is eternal, that the ages must roll and the idle plutocrat continue to ride in his chariot and purple, and the toiling artisan and peasant to form the pavement for his wheel.

But what have tinkling phrases to do with accomplished facts? What answer have the phrase mongers to the fifty American cities which within a little more than a decade have sloughed off the tyranny of monopoly in their public supplies and reclaimed from the making of millionnaires the

heritage and wealth of the people? What have sophisticate half statements as to the failure of historic experiments to do with a score of already successful modern expedients? If the American people will to own their railroads and telegraphs, or to abolish a score of similar private monopolies established upon the appropriation of public rights, it is not in any slightest degree a question of infringing upon immutable laws or theories of the "indomitable mind of man," but of immediate, common-sense expediency for the needs of our changed modern civilization. That Rome, who ground her corn in mortars, and the Middle Ages could not do these things would not seem greatly to affect the problem. In fact, they had no railways. And such matters are no longer hypotheses or experiments; they have been tried and not found wanting. Wisely controlled co-operative establishments have in our own country already retrieved from capitalists millions of wealth to the hands of industry. They need the further encouragement of our laws.

Some of our states have ousted from their borders the foreign land monopoly. It will be precisely as simple and precisely as easy, when we have enough intelligence to desire it, to suppress the home robber of our soil—to crush the speculator. If his peculiar "business" inclines him to seek a "less hostile jurisdiction," society will struggle to endure the lonesomeness of his absence.

So much for the political quacks, and so much for the "sarsaparilla and plasters and pills," that are treating the symptoms of our industrial complaint!

The American democracy from the beginning has not greatly prided itself upon precedents. The tide of discussion and reflection has set inward. A civilization that has been in itself a revolution in human history, that has accomplished unprecedented things, that possesses a heart, that, even though staggering under the shock and burden of unexpected and distorting industrial forces, has kept its eye upon equality and the ideal right, will not, perhaps, greatly disturb itself over ancient precedent or abstractions of the impossible, as it advances its step to the ultimate goal of justice for our kind. Its better faith is indeed in the indomitable mind of man.

THE SOUTH IS AMERICAN.

BY JOSHUA W. CALDWELL.

A GREAT deal has been said and written by Southern men of the need for a history of the South. The admirers of the late Henry Grady were fond of predicting, before his death, that to his brilliant genius the South would become indebted for a history which would fully "vindicate" her. It is respectfully submitted that the South does not need vindication, and that in any event she must rely entirely upon the facts. We need not expect and should not desire any vindication except the truth.

It is highly improbable that the genius of Mr. Grady would have endured the drudgery of historical examination and composition, and it is certain that the time has not come for writing the true and final history of the long struggle which culminated in the war.

Now is the time to gather the material, to preserve it for the hand of the historian who shall extract from it the truth, but not until generations shall have passed, and feeling and prejudice shall have ceased to obscure and distort truth and judgment. We may rely upon it, the truth will finally be told, and the world will know it.

The war ended twenty-eight years ago, but it is still the habit of the North to think of the people of the states which attempted to secede as enemies of the Union and of the Constitution. It is the purpose of this article to present certain facts in aid of a correct judgment on this point, and this will involve the consideration of some matters of early history.

It is one of the hopeful signs of the times that throughout the South there is a positive and growing interest in historical research. A great deal has already been written, but such writings as have attracted more than local attention have been in the main polemical. As certain Northern writers — like Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge — who possess extensive knowledge of bare facts, but not of their true relations and significance, have studied and written without that degree

of sympathy which is indispensable to a correct understanding, so the Southern writers too often have manifested excessive sympathy. Mr. Lodge's chapters on Old Virginia make that colony the dreary abode of indolence, ignorance, horse racing, wine bibbing, and cock fighting. The Southern writers, upon the contrary, are inclined to idealize it. The coarse, horsy, gambling, deep-drinking planters who fill Mr. Lodge's chapters have no place in their pages, but only the Beverlys, the Birds, the Randolphs, and the Lees — no ordinary mortals, but only fine ladies, fine gentlemen, fine birds, fine feathers. Gallants in flowing wigs and spreading ruffles, patrician dames and dainty damosels in rustling silks and rigid brocades, awfully hooped, go their stately ways, and dance graceful minuets.

These writers are special pleaders. The truth is that the founders of Virginia and of the other Southern colonies were average men and women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and had their full share of the vices and their full share of the virtues of the times. In the main they were English, with a comparatively slight intermixture of Irish, Scotch Irish, Dutch Germans, and Huguenots.

Virginia, the oldest and most important of the Southern colonies, may be treated as thoroughly representative, and it is important, therefore, to know who the Virginians were.

The fact first to be noticed is, that of all the British colonies, Virginia was the most English. In blood the Virginians were not more English than the Puritans; but they held to the English forms and methods, social, political, and religious, whereas the New Englanders attempted to set up a theocracy which should realize the ideals of the Puritans of old England and of the Covenanters of Scotland. In Virginia institutions were as English as the people.

The Puritan was, from the beginning, a malcontent, a rebel; not so much, however, for political as for religious reasons. Colonial Virginia, upon the contrary, was, except during the short-lived insurrection known as Bacon's Rebellion, constantly upon the most amicable terms with the home country and government. It is familiar history that because Virginia did, during the hundred years between Bacon's Rebellion and the war of independence, enjoy unbroken peace and quiet, she was accused of indifference to popular rights. This construction of her conduct makes

the sudden appearing of her patriots of the Revolution the most astounding fact in history.

The Puritan repudiated, as a thing abominable, the Church of England; the Virginian established the Church and persecuted dissenters. The Puritan embraced the Commonwealth, and made haste to banish the royal governor; the Virginian was steadfastly loyal to the Stuarts, invited the banished king to plant his sceptre anew in the virgin soil of his faithful colony, and refused to recognize the Commonwealth until Cromwell's war ships trained their cannon upon his capital.

To the superficial observer, Massachusetts and Virginia may appear to have been essentially unlike. In reality the unlikeness was superficial, and beneath it was a likeness which was essential. Their people were of the same race, and had the same conception of liberty and the same love of liberty. In the end, they two were to lead all the other colonies to the establishment of their common principles.

The Puritans were mainly of the English middle class, and so were the Virginians. It is true that the rich planters dominated Virginia, and that her institutions became, in a measure, aristocratic; but it is to be remembered that the love of liberty has never been confined to any class of Englishmen, and at all events the supply of plain people in Virginia was abundant.

Massachusetts was turbulent, Virginia placid; but when the time came, Virginia was as quick as her Northern sister to declare for freedom. When Massachusetts defied England, it was George Washington of Virginia who declared that to aid her he was ready to raise and subsist a regiment at his own expense. If Massachusetts gave Otis, Hancock, Adams, to the good cause, Virginia gave Randolph, Marshall, Madison, Jefferson, and Washington. Thus it appears that Virginia, the typical and dominant Southern colony, bore, in the struggle for independence, a part no less trying, no less important, no less honorable, than Massachusetts.

As Virginia had been the richest and most influential of the Southern colonies, she became the controlling Southern state. Indeed, for a time, she led all the states of the Union; but gradually, and from causes which need not be considered here, the larger Northern states outgrew her in population and in wealth. There was no time, how-

ever, prior to 1861, when she was not the foremost and the most influential Southern state.

It is a fact of great importance to our present purpose that the controlling elements of population in the younger Southern states are very largely of Virginian origin. It is correct, both geographically and politically speaking, to call the four Southern colonies the "Virginia group."

The Puritan influences of New England and the Dutch influences of New York never reached the Carolinas nor Georgia, but over all of them the Virginia influence was supreme. Socially, politically, and religiously the Southern colonies were of the same type; and it was mainly, almost exclusively, Virginia and the Virginians that shaped their institutions and determined the character and quality of their civilization. This civilization was essentially Anglo-Saxon. It is true that the population of the Carolinas was less homogeneous than that of Virginia, but the great and controlling majority was Anglo-Saxon.

We may then treat these facts as established, that among the Southern colonies and the Southern states Virginia was dominant; that Virginia was one of the most patriotic and thoroughly American of all the colonies; and that by studying Virginia we may find the salient and essential qualities of the people of the South, and of their social and political institutions.

Of the white races which originally settled Virginia, by far the most important in every respect was the English. During the first century and a quarter of her history, the immigration from other countries than England was not large enough to have any perceptible influence on manners or institutions. In the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the eighteenth century, the Scotch-Irish and the Germans made their settlements in the valley and in the adjacent highlands. It is nowhere asserted that the Germans exerted any particular influence except as the natural result of thrift and good citizenship. For the Scotch-Irish much more is claimed, and indisputably this vigorous and sturdy race has been a factor of great potency in the life of Virginia and of the entire South.

It is important to have in mind two facts concerning it. In the first place, it has been numerically greatly overestimated. John Fiske, in an article published in *Harper's*

Magazine some years ago, declares that of the white population of Virginia at the time of the seven years' war, all but two per cent were English. In the second place, the Scotch-Irish were late comers. When they arrived the colony was already populous, and its institutions definitely and firmly established. As non-conformists they were by circumstances, as well as by their own inclination, kept apart, in some measure, from their neighbors, and thus possessed the influence which union and concentration always secure. But this could not prevent the natural results of incessant contact with the far more numerous English, and practically they were, in course of time, absorbed and assimilated.

If it had been otherwise, it would have made very little difference. While the Scotch Irishman had one of the most divergent and complicated genealogies in Europe, he was principally Anglo-Saxon in blood, and had been for centuries under English influences. For nearly two hundred years his people had been subjects of the English crown. And in this connection it may be further said that both the Scotch and the Irish settlers of North America shared the political beliefs of their English neighbors. The Anglo-Saxon civilization was not the separate property of the race from which it takes its name. The lowland Scotch and the Irish were and are as much Anglo-Saxon in this respect as the English themselves. In the war of the Revolution the Scotch and the Irish patriots held the same opinions and cherished the same purposes as the English, and fought for them with no less courage and devotion.

The American Revolution implied no change of principles. If it resulted in institutional changes, the new institutions are essentially English in origin and in quality. The establishment of the American republic was an advance in the true line of Anglo-Saxon development, and no part of the country has ever been so thoroughly Anglo-Saxon as the South. Even Mr. Douglass Campbell, who has written an ingenious polemical book to prove that everything good in the North is of Dutch origin, stops with Pennsylvania, and contents himself with saying that the South, which was not under Dutch influence, contributed only one principle to the commonwealth, and that a borrowed one.

But while the American colonists, more especially the Southern ones, were men of the Anglo-Saxon race and

had the Anglo-Saxon civilization, they were, at the time of the Revolution, not Englishmen but Americans. No writer has more satisfactorily presented this truth than Theodore Roosevelt. It is true that Georgia had not long been settled, but in most of the other colonies the white race had lived for more than two centuries. In Virginia they had dwelt for more than two hundred and fifty years.

Few Americans had ever seen England; the Atlantic was not easily nor quickly crossed; not many could afford the expenses of travel; the mixture of alien and sometimes unfriendly blood, combined with distance and a free life under new conditions, had moderated the sentiment of loyalty to Britain, and had begotten habits and feelings of independence. The people were not called English nor treated as Englishmen, and they were distinctively and truly American in feeling and in character. As the Anglo-Saxons had absorbed and assimilated all other elements in all the colonies, and as the absorption was more complete in the Southern than in the Northern colonies, it followed naturally that the development of the Southern states was wholly along the lines of the old German-English civilization.

The Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the South has never been overcome. So far as other white races are concerned, it has never been threatened. The white population has always been American and homogeneous. It will not be denied that the younger, inland Southern states have derived their population and institutions almost exclusively from the Virginia group of colonies.

The third decade of this century witnessed the setting in of that mighty tide of immigration which has "known no retiring ebb." Immigration, however, has a tendency to follow isothermal lines, a fact which makes Italian immigration a menace to the South. Our immigrants have come mainly from the north of Europe. This is not the only reason why they have settled in the North and Northwest, but reasons are less important for our present purpose than the fact that the South has had almost no immigration. The increase of population has consequently been less than in other sections. In some parts of the West we know that the foreigners possess the land, and do with it as they please. They control politics, and cast down rulers and parties for such intolerable offences against the rights of imported citizens as desiring to

have the English language taught in the public schools. The pocket-borough politics of Nevada afford a striking illustration of the benefits of foreign rule.

New York is more Jewish than Jerusalem ever was; more German, probably, than any city except Berlin; more Irish than any except Dublin; more Italian than any except Naples. Chicago is American only in geography and in politics. Of the fifteen million descendants of the Puritans, Boston retains very few; and New England has been so overrun by French Canadians that recently it was reported that some of them had, in an outburst of Gallic enthusiasm, proposed the establishment of a new Latin republic, with Boston as its capital.

But statistics are more convincing than general statements. In order to show how thoroughly American the population of the Southern states is, I present the following statistics taken fresh from our new census. I confine my attention to the white population.

According to the census of 1890, there were for every 100,000 native-born Americans 17,330 foreign born. The state of New York has in round numbers 4,400,000 native and 1,600,000 foreign born citizens, being 35,000 foreign for every 100,000 native. In Illinois for each 100,000 native-born citizens there are 28,200 foreign born; in Michigan, 35,000; in Wisconsin, 44,400; in Minnesota, 56,600; in Montana, 48,400; in North Dakota, 80,400.

When we turn to the Southern states, the contrast is impressive. By Southern states, I mean Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The white population of Tennessee is 1,336,000, and of this number 20,029 are foreign born; that is to say, for each 100,000 native-born whites there are 1,500 foreign born. North Carolina is the most American of all the states, having a native-born white population of 1,055,000, and foreign born of 3,702, or for each 100,000 native born 370 foreign born.

In the other Southern states the figures are as follows:—

		NATIVE.	FOREIGN.
Alabama	833,000	15,000
Arkansas	818,000	14,000

	NATIVE.	FOREIGN.
Florida	225,000	22,000
Georgia	978,000	12,000
Kentucky	1,600,000	59,000
Mississippi	545,000	8,000
Louisiana	558,000	49,000
South Carolina	462,000	6,000
Texas	1,700,000	152,000
Virginia	1,000,000	18,000
West Virginia	730,000	18,000

I have omitted the odd hundreds; and the total foreign-born white population of the South, counting in these hundreds, is about 380,000.

Massachusetts alone has a foreign-born population of 657,000; New Jersey, 329,000, or nearly as many as the whole South; New York, nearly 1,600,000, or four times as many as the South; Pennsylvania, 845,000; Ohio, 459,000, or more than the entire South; Illinois, 842,000; Michigan and Wisconsin, each over 500,000; Minnesota, nearly 500,000; and California, 366,000.

If we omit Kentucky, Louisiana, and Texas, the little state of Connecticut has 60,000 more foreigners than all the remainder of the South; and wee Rhode Island, as large as an average county, has within 14,000 as many foreigners as the entire South, omitting the three states named.

But these figures do not indicate the real importance and influence of the foreign-born population. One of the mitigated and highly qualified blessings which we enjoy is universal suffrage. It is difficult to find one's consent to suffrage limited in any way; but there is abundant justification for dissenting from a system which converts a foreign anarchist like John Most into an American citizen in a very few years, honestly, and, on any political emergency, immediately and dishonestly.

The proportion of adult men among immigrants is much larger than in settled societies. For instance, of the 1,571,000 foreign-born citizens of New York, 1,084,000 are voters (that is, of voting age); while of 4,000,000 native-born citizens, only 1,769,000 are voters. In percentages the foreign-born vote of New York is 38.73; Illinois, 36.39; Michigan, 40.22; Wisconsin, 52.93; Minnesota, 58.55; North Dakota, 64.89; Nevada, 51.41; California, 50.21.

These are foreign countries, and it is a positive relief to

turn to the South and feel that there are still some Americans left. The percentage of foreign-born voters in some of the Southern states is as follows: —

Tennessee, 3 per cent; Kentucky, 7; Alabama, 2.50; Mississippi, 2; Louisiana, 10; Texas, 14; Arkansas, 3; Virginia, 3; West Virginia, 5; North Carolina, 0.61; South Carolina, 2; Florida, 11; Georgia, 2.

I have used the word "voters" to describe the class of immigrants last referred to. It is not a fact, however, that they all are voters; more than a million of them are aliens, and thirty-two per cent of these foreign Americans cannot speak the English language.

A comparison of census reports for 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890 shows that in none of the Southern states — except Kentucky, with the large city of Louisville, Louisiana, with the large city of New Orleans, and Texas, lying upon the Mexican frontier — has there been any increase of foreign population since 1860. We know that there was none before that time. The white people of the South are almost exclusively the descendants of the Americans of 1775. Upon the other hand, it is safe to say that of the males of voting age in the Northern and Northwestern states, not less than fifty per cent are foreign born, or the sons of foreign-born parents.

The white people of the South are not only American — they are, in the main, the descendants of a race which from the days of Tacitus has been known in the world's history as the exemplar and champion of personal purity, personal independence, and political liberty. For them no life but one of freedom is possible, and I can never believe that the hybrid population of Russians, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, which fills so many Northern cities and states, has the same love for our country, the same love of liberty, as have the Anglo-Saxon Southerners, whose fathers have always been free.

The strongest, most concentrated force of Americanism is in the South, and Americanism is the highest form of Anglo-Saxon civilization. There is no part of the globe, except the kingdom of England, which is so thoroughly Anglo-Saxon as the South.

But it will be said, admitting that the South is American and has preserved the Anglo-Saxon traits, nevertheless a

war was necessary to keep her in the Union. To this matter my own inclinations, no less than limitations of space, require me to refer very briefly.

The excellence of the American Union is in the principles upon which it is established; that is to say, in the Constitution. Surely no man will say that it is more important to preserve the physical integrity of the Union than the principles of the Constitution.

We claim for the South, in the war between the states, absolute good faith. Whether she was right or wrong, the impartial judgment of the future will fairly determine.

I affirm that the South has been, from the first, absolutely faithful to the principles of the Constitution, as she in good faith construed it. Let me indicate briefly the extent of her participation in the formation of the Constitution and the establishment of the republic. It is correctly said by a Southern statesman that the Constitution was "adopted and promulgated by a convention in which Southern influences predominated." The heading of one of Bancroft's chapters is, "Virginia Statesmen Lead towards a Better Union."

Virginia did lead the movement for the establishment of the Constitution, and the reader who wishes to know the extent of the influence of George Washington of Virginia in this movement is referred to the pages of John Fiske of New England. Rutledge and Pinckney of South Carolina were the most important contributors to the form, as to the substance, of the Constitution, with the exception of James Madison of Virginia, who justly bears the name of "Father of the Constitution." The Bill of Rights is mainly the work of Thomas Jefferson.

During the first century of our national life, Southern statesmen held the presidency and shaped the policy of the government. They acquired Florida, and extended our domain to the Rio Grande and to the Pacific. The Constitution was first construed by John Marshall of Virginia. The school of strict constitutionists, which made a fetish of the Constitution, was founded and supported by Southern men. When the Southern Confederacy was formed, it adopted as its organic law the old Constitution, unchanged in any essential respect.

There is no fact nor logic which can prove that the South ever deviated from her fealty to the Constitution, or ever

shed a drop of blood except in defence of its principles as she construed it.

The war construed the Constitution, and the South has in good faith and unreservedly accepted every legitimate result of the war. No man who is honest and who is adequately informed will say that her people are not absolutely loyal to the Union and the Constitution. I go further, and affirm that in the troubles which the future is sure to bring, the principles and the institutions of American liberty will find their most loyal and steadfast support in the twelve millions of Southern Anglo-Saxon Americans.

A CONTINENTAL ISSUE.

BY RICHARD J. HINTON.

THE new West is a region of aridity. It is one of sublime scenery and almost weird picturesqueness. It is endowed with climatic conditions everywhere helpful rather than hindering to man. It holds great material capabilities. Its mines of precious metals have within forty years revolutionized commerce and traffic. Its resources in the useful minerals are already beginning to astonish the investor. And the bold announcement that with the use of water in irrigation its lands may be made to support in plenty twenty million families, or one hundred million persons, has struck those who read and listen in order to understand and not to sneer, with a bewildering sense of astonishment. But it is true, and whatever concerns the shaping and making of such results, is a matter of the weightiest import. Let me prove this if I can.

The "arid region" of the United States embraces a huge parallelogram of about one billion one hundred million acres. It lies between the ninety-eighth and one hundred and twenty-sixth degrees of longitude from east to west, and between Manitoba and British Columbia on the north, and the Rio Grande, the Gulf Coast, and the northern line of Mexico on the south. The average precipitation is less than eleven inches, ranging from three at Yuma in Arizona to over twenty at Walla Walla or Yakima, in Washington, our new edition of Pennsylvania. Everywhere, therefore, water as a necessity of cultivation, or for security in ripening days, must be artificially applied to the soil. Already from eight to ten million acres are so cultivated, and about twelve million more such acres are awaiting the arrival of settlers and occupants. Within five years one hundred and fifty million dollars of capital has actually been invested, and half as much more has been contributed in lands and labor.

The total area "under ditch," that is, under works designed to store and distribute water in irrigation, is not less

than twenty-one million acres. There is the possibility of reclaiming one hundred million more. These acres lie almost wholly under constant sunshine. The surface waters constantly convey millions of tons of fertilizing material to the thirsty soils. Some authorities estimate the area of possible reclamation by means of water applied in irrigation at two hundred and fifty million acres. I venture, however, to express as a conviction on my part, that the conservation of water for use is in the increase thereof, and that, therefore, there may reasonably be anticipated a large addition to service. In other words, the same amount of water necessary for the reclamation to agriculture of one hundred and twenty-five million acres, will, as the land fills up, serve an acreage of one hundred and seventy-five million at least.

The financial equations involved in such an outlook are, I know, of almost staggering amount, yet they may be estimated in very simple totals. Taking the average cost per acre at eight dollars, as figured out by the census authorities, we should have for the total area one billion dollars. That such a sum is no mere or wild guess can be shown by the expense of the costly works erected by the British engineers in India during the past forty years. The cost for eighteen million acres is resolved readily at nine dollars per acre. And the British Indian works, as a whole, are much more costly than those which we will construct in arid America. The expenditure of such a sum as I state will be found profitable, when governed by time, demand, and the other conditions that must enter in; for the land reclaimed can readily be made worth, by the creation of irrigation works, from twenty-five dollars to fifty dollars per acre. The average market value, to-day, with but few buyers, will be not over two dollars per acre. And this great increase of land value will be accompanied by the actual creation of new wealth, in the industrial use of water now lost and wasted, to the amount of not less than another billion of dollars. That is to say, water, as an agent in agriculture, will certainly be worth ten dollars per cubic foot when delivered per second of time to the land. Engineers and experts will assure all doubters that this estimate is ridiculously low.

The land to be thus reclaimed from aridity will everywhere return in products, crops equal in quality to any grown in the humid areas, and in quantity at least four-fold greater.

All of the work involved in such great estimates may be achieved at the cost, in large degree, of those who are to be the beneficiaries. In other words, the reclamation of our arid region need not partake of a national eleemosynary character. There are certain positive and distinct requirements demanded in national and state legislation to render successful and safe this vast addition to the wealth of America and the world.

I am apt to assert that, broadly stated, there are but two syllogisms needed to express the roads along which poverty may be abolished. These are: — 1. Increase the wealth of the world by all just methods. 2. See to it that all who aid therein receive their equitable share of whatsoever wealth is developed. In considering the problems of irrigation in our arid region, I have all the time had in view the processes of equity in distribution as well as those of creation, construction, development, and administration. I am writing now to assert in all soberness that this pending development of our continental resources can be, nay, must be, effected upon lines which will automatically develop economic equity in distribution, and that, too, in a degree and with a security never yet dreamed of, except by the prophets and publicists of the social philosophies that are now derided.

It is my purpose briefly and in outline at least to establish this, and at the same time show how it may be brought about — how, indeed, it is even now coming about.

Again, the issues here presented are of present importance. When this article goes forth in the current issue of *THE ARENA*, an international convention to consider them will meet at Los Angeles, Cal.,* and its policy, formulated in demands, will soon thereafter be heard upon the floor of Congress.

Given, then, the wealth-creating possibility already indicated, and it will be desirable to show the connection of legislation and other public action with the same. Three propositions come to me as generally expressive of that association: —

1. The disposition of our public lands.
2. The nature and character of water control that must be established.
3. The form of ownership, supervision, and administration of the water and works necessary for irrigation uses.

* Oct. 10, International Irrigation Congress.

These cover the whole problem, and their statement indicates a logical order of discussion, to which I will proceed:—

Our public domain is now confined, with the exception of about twenty-five million acres, to the region indicated as arid in character. There is available for occupancy west of the ninety-eighth meridian of longitude about five hundred and forty million acres. There is of the public domain also, but not open to settlement, at least one hundred and twenty million acres more, now reserved as Indian lands, for military posts, and as unsettled Spanish grants. It is more than probable that five sixths of this area will ere many years be added to the public lands open to settlement. The state of Texas still holds at least eighty million acres of her state domain, nearly all of which lies west of ninety-eight. To recapitulate, there are, out of the one billion one hundred million acres embraced within the arid region, the following bodies of public and other lands:—

	ACRES.
Open to settlement, public lands U. S.	540,000,000
“ “ public lands of Texas	80,000,000
“ “ by purchase, railroad lands	75,000,000
Total for present and prospective settlement	695,000,000
Public lands that may yet be opened (Indian, military, and Spanish grants)	120,000,000
	<hr/> 815,000,000

Of the remaining two hundred and eighty-five million acres, water surfaces may take about one sixth, and of the balance, about fifty million acres are under use and development for cattle, agriculture, mining, and lumbering. The remainder is under private ownership for use or sale. The issue in this brief paper concerns itself most materially with the public lands open for settlement. These are, in the right solution of problems involved, more valuable to the interests that irrigation is creating than for anything else. They embrace the water-bearing lands. By that I mean the chief sources of water supply—the heads of all the interstate streams and courses, as well as the lakes, large and small, which exist in the Rockies and higher Sierras. The second factor of importance is the forest land remaining, and the third, but not the least, are the pastoral areas embraced. The choicest and most available portions of

the unoccupied arid region will be found, probably, in the areas owned by corporations and individuals, or those which are retained at present as Indian or other reservations. If there were water sufficient for cultivation, the public lands now open for settlement would afford one acre in five for arable use. The area of probable reclamation will hardly exceed one acre in ten, unless that systematic conservation of water supply which the future holds, shall enable considerable grain and root cultivation to be undertaken in connection with pastoral occupancy of the higher altitude tablelands, such as large segments of the Colorado and Raton plateaus, the ranges in the basin region, in Wyoming, Montana, and the coast Sierras.

The principal question now being raised in relation to reclamation by irrigation, and the national policy that should be pursued, relates directly to the permanent disposal of the remaining public domain. The first Irrigation Congress met in Salt Lake City in September, 1891, and as the sole result of its action put forth a demand for the transfer of that domain to the several commonwealths now or hereafter formed in the arid region. The proceeds of such transfer would thereby be used, it was claimed, for the advancement of reclamation by the storage and distribution of water. This demand for such transfer has been vigorously pursued. Mr. Warren, United States senator for Wyoming, presented a bill and advocated the same in the Senate. The discussion, so far as any has occurred, has been conducted mainly by an able and interesting specialist periodical, then published at Salt Lake City.

The most remarkable feature of the plan pursued has, however, been a "conspiracy of silence," which was most effectively illustrated by the committees of House and Senate in the Fifty-second Congress, that were charged with inquiry into the whole subject. The House Committee practically boycotted every one who did not believe in the transfer policy. The majority were indifferent to the matter, and the chairman, a Texas congressman, would allow no hearings whatever. Any information he got was sought privately, and only on one side. The Senate Committee acted in a similar manner, though less offensively, as its chairman was in character and manner more urbane and kindly. The fact became apparent and is still so, that the

last thing the chief advocates of public land transfer desire is a discussion in Congress and the press commensurate with the great importance of the questions and interests embraced. I do not know if the same course will be pursued at Los Angeles, but that the attempt will be made may be fully anticipated. There is a decided tendency within the present administration and the party press by which it is sustained, to favor the proposed transfer. In great part this view is taken at haphazard and without due consideration. It appears to be probably the easiest way of getting rid of vexatious questions, and the magic words "state control" fit in with their traditional feelings and views.

I am of those who are strongly opposed to the transfer policy, and who do not believe that its realization will be well for the states immediately involved or be for the best interests of all the people. My chief reason relates itself to the larger social-economic phases and appeals to the near future for its support of equity, order, and security. There are questions involved, such as relate to the capability of these young states to frame land control systems and to bear the burden of surveys, etc., as well as the dangerous incentive to corporate and real estate lobbying and corrupting that must inevitably follow such loose legislation as has been proposed; the probability of creating ill-advised irrigation "booms," that would almost inevitably accompany such a gift; the difficulty of preventing clashing and conflicts between the states over boundaries and water flow, etc., and the inability that would follow of appealing to the federal authority and courts to solve the questions at stake. I leave these detailed objections for another place. It is quite practicable to accomplish all the good that many advocates of transfer anticipate therefrom, by a retention of control in the hands of the general government and a judicious application of the lands and their proceeds to the encouragement of reclamation by irrigation.

But to my mind there is one insuperable objection to the proposed wholesale transfer of our public domain from nation to states, which rests upon the largest physical facts, is rooted in the greater hydrological and climatic conditions of the continent, and whose consideration belongs to the higher statesmanship that must govern rather than to the managing policies and purposes which are looking to imme-

diate relief from labor or impinging profit to community and person. To that objection, then, I address myself, and in doing so reach the second of the divisions already outlined.

The water supply is, of course, the first and most important of all questions in any region where irrigation is necessary to make agriculture possible. Land under aridity is of very slight industrial value; water when applied thereto is the solvent that, with labor, creates values. Water can never be private property. The carrying and placing of it will be, while controlled by private enterprise. The essence of property in legal terms is found in identity and place, neither of which inures to that element. Water is natural wealth, just as the air is the necessary condition of all life. These primary truths must be borne in mind when dealing with my subject. The farmer who needs water pays for the conveniences by which it is stored and conveyed to him. And water is a natural agent, essential to use of land; it must, wherever its presence is an absolute necessity, inure to the land to which it has once been conveyed. These are factors laid down in all the judicial decisions made by courts familiar with the practices and requirements of an irrigated country. In one form or another they are found in the customs, rules, regulations, laws, decisions, and practices of all such communities and countries, from the dawn of recorded history up to the present date.

From these general statements it follows, to me at least, that the burden of making the land valuable must in the main be borne by those who are to derive the profit thereof, but under such conditions of public supervision as the experiences of mankind may deem necessary to prevent hurtful monopoly and continued struggle. The sovereignty of the whole must be exercised in law and regulation to compel the parts, local and individual, to obey the requirement of paying for service, and of also maintaining common control for common benefit.

At this point in my plea I interpose the statement that the transfer of the public lands will render these desirable things practically impossible. And my main statement in support of that position is that the transfer of interstate water sources, etc., to state control, will interpose barriers that must produce collision and bring about conflicts.

Take down a map of the United States and examine the

hydrography of the region reviewed. Nearly all of the greater rivers rise within or are close to the limits of this region. The Mississippi is just outside, and its great basin is almost its eastern boundary line. It is seriously affected by the climate and topography which make aridity the rule in the west. The Missouri and all its main confluent rise in the northern and central sections of the Rockies. The Rio Grande rises and flows for twelve hundred miles wholly within the mid-mountain areas thereof. The Rio Colorado, emptying into the Gulf of California, drains, with its great tributaries — the Wind, Green, Grand, Gunnison, San Juan, and others — the basin region and southwest, for at least nine hundred miles. The Rio Gila rises in New Mexico and bisects Arizona from east to west. The principal sources of the majestic Columbia rise on the northwest slopes of the Rockies and pass through two states with large arid and semi-arid sections. The interior rivers of the northwest — the Snake, Salmon, Bear, Owyhee, etc. — are all interstate in character. Engineering knowledge and expert testimony will prove that there is sufficient water, in all these streams, when properly managed and conserved, to insure the reclamation of the one hundred and twenty-five million acres to which this paper limits the area of probable use. And the control of this great source of wealth means not alone vast power but enormous profit.

Returning again to our map, the observer will find that *nearly all of the water courses I have referred to* — the sources from which must spring this great wealth and its new civilization — have their rise within and from three states alone — Colorado, Wyoming, Montana. Beginning with the one first named, it will be seen that the front range of the Rockies therein holds the sources of the Arkansas and the South Platte. On its eastern area rise the mid-plain waters of the Republican and Smoky Hill — all waters the control of which must affect the welfare of a half-dozen states. In its central basin on the south, Colorado possesses the sources of the Rio Grande. On the west it has a half-dozen feeders of the Rio Colorado. Then comes Wyoming, with its most important hydrographical conditions, possessing on its eastern lines the North Platte, Niobrara, Loup, and a part of the Yellowstone's affluents. On the west and north it holds the sources of the Wind, Green,

Snake, Bear, and other streams. The many mountain lakes, large and small, that Wyoming contains, do not enter into this branch of our subject, as they are state waters. Montana holds on the east all the sources of the Upper Missouri as well as of the Milk River, a large tributary of the Upper Mississippi. On the west it contains the American sources of the Columbia, and some of the tributaries of the Snake and Salmon Rivers.

Outside of these three states we have of interstate waters only the Pecos, Canadian, and Gila, taking their rise in New Mexico, and flowing therefrom into Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, and Arizona. In California and Nevada we have the interstate Lake Tahoe, and the Klamath River, rising in Oregon. With that the tale is completed. California has its own system confined to its own borders, in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers; also the small streams, now so valuable, in the southern section.

My objection, then, is the large one, that, by the wholesale transfer of the public domain to the arid states, the chief water supply thereof will, to all intents and purposes, pass under the direct sovereignty of the three states named. It may be objected here that they now have legal control of the same by reason of the constitutional provisions each has adopted, placing the natural waters there under the control of the states themselves. To that I reply that they can have no final sovereignty over interstate water sources, while that remains in the hands of the general government as part of the public domain. The national sovereignty will remain an administrative issue alone, and may not involve constitutional conflict, as will certainly be the case when such proposed transfer shall be accomplished. The prize of power and the profit of control will be too great a temptation for the clever operators and promoters east and west, who will flock for spoils to this inviting field. Can the people of the remaining states interested submit unquestioningly to such possibilities as are indicated? Let me suggest one in which the whole country is enormously involved.

The overdrainage of the northwest enormously increases the flood dangers of the alluvial Mississippi. That drainage lies largely within Montana and North Dakota. At no distant day, as a national issue, the storage of water alone in the

Upper Missouri region will rise into one of vast importance. It will involve alike the reclamation of that northwest and the protection from overflow of the still richer central south. It is essential, then, to maintain control by ownership of all these interstate water sources. I venture the assertion that there will be a sudden lessening of interest in the land transfer policy, if any such action shall be coupled with the imperative and permanent preservation to the nation as forest and water storage reservations of all the public lands in which such waters rise. A considerable step has already been quietly achieved in this direction by the forest reserves that have been made during the past three years. My propositions would then be : —

(a) The permanent creation of national reservations, to include in all cases the sources of interstate waters.

(b) The granting in trust to the several states of all state water sources, for storage purposes, which still remain part of the public domain.

(c) The limited (in time) reservation of all pastoral lands above a certain altitude, which may be defined by commissioners appointed for the purpose; the same not to be sold but leased for range purposes; the proceeds of leases, above all costs of administration, to be used for the finding and development of water supply therein. These to be public property, under local regulation and state supervision.

(d) The opening of all arable lands requiring irrigation to homestead settlement only, the same to be *sold* to the settlers at small prices, varying slightly according to the uses to which such land may be put; as, roots, grain, and grass in one class; fruits in another; special crops, like sugar beets for example, in another. The net proceeds of all such homestead sales should be kept as a separate trust fund to be divided among the several states interested and to be used by them for storage works or as guarantee for interest on district or other authorized irrigation bonds, and all profits arising to the states from the use of such moneys to be turned over to the school funds, under such laws as the states may frame and pass. The same disposition should be made of all grants of public lands given for irrigation purposes, and I believe that it will be wise policy for Congress to be liberal in this direction, especially so to all genuine co-operative land settlement enterprises.

My objection, then, to the land transfer policy is that it is in immediate results speculative and wasteful in character; that it is not just to all the people; that it will breed interstate conflicts and so hinder the normal and higher progress of the new agriculture, and that it is not administratively in unison with the controlling facts of topography and hydrography. As I believe that the normal progress of the new life of the West is to be found in local ownership of water and works, under state regulation and so much of national aid as I have indicated, with the addition of such just expenditures as will enable us to understand the value and capacities of our common property, the public domain, I am not in favor of a policy which will put the whole future at the mercy of the "boomers" and the sanguine, who demand immediate results, hardly caring how they are obtained.

My third division relates, therefore, to the shaping of legislation by which, through district municipal organization, the people will pay capital in the way of bonds and interest, for all the aid it can give, while at the same retaining this great agency of industrial life and wealth within its own hands. The California irrigation district system already outlines in general form the system I am contemplating. The states of Washington, Oregon, Kansas, and South Dakota have in more or less modified form adopted the California or Wright plan; while Colorado, Wyoming, and Nevada have in part adopted the plan of judicial and administrative supervision of water appropriation and distribution. The commingling of these two will come when a working basis is found. Analysis and deduction will show that this general plan must automatically tend, more and more, to equity in the distribution of economic results. It will ensure payment and security for the capital involved; it must also make permanent the common control of the sources of irrigation wealth and the success thereby of all who work and direct. Action along these general lines will produce for our irrigation empire conditions that I cannot describe better than in the words I have used elsewhere and on other occasions:—

"Irrigation means new and better economic conditions. It means small farms, orchards, and vineyards, more homes and families, with moderate means and greater comfort. It

means more intelligence and knowledge applied to farming; more profit from crops, more freight, and more commerce, because special products of higher grade and better market value will be raised. It means association in town life instead of isolated farms; it means the occupation for small ranches of every mountain basin and valley, and the gradual but still rapid filling up of foot-hills and table-lands. It means telephones, telegraphs, good roads, and swift motors; fruit and garden growths everywhere; schools in close proximity, villages on every hand, and such general prosperity as can hardly be dreamed of by any one individual. To achieve it more readily, intellectual understanding, business direction, and scientific organization should be given to the great movement now coming to the front for the development of enterprise and progress."

A FREE CHURCH FOR AMERICA.

BY WILLIAM P. MCKENZIE.

It is an age of brotherhoods and fraternal associations, and some, therefore, may object to the name "church." Let the church be considered the complement of the state. The state administers justice, the church benevolence. By the state the murderer is hanged; by the church the widow and orphans of both the hanged murderer and his slain victim are cared for — their hunger the state does not consider. The representatives of citizens regulate commerce and traffic, the things which concern gain and ownership; these same citizens in church relations have representatives who attend to matters of gift and kindness. The state builds a post office, the church a hospital. In the state a man's duties are legal; he must be just. In the church it is his duty to be helpful; he must be sympathetic. Religionists try to be generous before being just, and thereby is explained the hatred of the masses for churches.

Can we have a church that in the way indicated will complement a free state? So long as the denominations are rivals, there cannot be a free church; but if foreigners in this land recognize that they are called into liberty, why should not those speaking the variant tongues of religion be also drawn to the freedom of love? In America there is neither Swede nor Norwegian, German, Russian, nor Pole, but all are one — even the old language forgotten in a few generations. Why, then, should we have distinctions preserved in the church — old-world distinctions at that, Lutheran, Anglican, Wesleyan, Dutch Reformed? Is it harder to give up a religious phraseology than a mother-tongue?

Union, or rather fellowship, in work characterizes this age. Poets have dreamed of such hand-clasping of comrades as will be this year; prophets have had visions of this era of friendship. Materialists have compressed a sneer into the word "visionary"; but this idea of a world-friendship, "Is it a dream? Nay, but the lack of it a dream."

What hinders union of men in a free church? Two old

enemies, officialism and superstition. To that Greatheart, Dr. Hale, some ecclesiasts object: he has no creed. To that Boanerges, Dr. Parkhurst, others object: he has not been properly ordained. Of that "beloved disciple," Phillips Brooks, some were ready to say he was not baptized — in sufficient measure. To be associated with good men in good work is, according to the straitest sects, to tolerate the errors of these good men.

To this materialism of the teachers corresponds the superstition of the people. Some can imagine the Judge examining a soul to find the "watermark"; some are satisfied there is no salvation for one not "confirmed" by a bishop; some tremble regarding their own safety if for a moment they are brought to doubt the hopeless "damnation" of the mass of mankind; some are sure a man is not "converted" unless he can locate the year, day of the month, and hour, and tell whether it was a snowy day or not.

One illustration of the official idea will be enough. A society began to work and increase under the name of Christian Endeavor. The word chosen signified that the members wished to do their *devoir*, or duty, as Christians — which is undoubtedly obedience to the last command of Christ. That love by Him enjoined, brought the young people of different denominations into sympathy. It seemed as if the coming generation was to realize what Christ so longed to see — "one flock and one shepherd." But the hireling shepherds took alarm. A portion of the flock was driven off into the strong-walled Westminster fold; a section turned from the plain into the secluded Baptist river-valley; a large section protected by barbed fencing in the Epworth pasture. Exclusiveness was supposed to insure safety.

But open-heartedness and brotherly kindness must take the place of exclusiveness if we are to have a free church. The church will be home for the friendless and school for the ignorant; a place, also, for those who want not help but sympathy, the love that "restores the intuition" to the discouraged. Will be, we have said; is it so yet? Is there a church not based on creed, but aiming simply to manifest the spirit Christ asked for in his parable of the last judgment? Is there one *united by a sentiment* thus?

It is because thinking and not doing is emphasized, in church associations that members feel responsible for what

another thinks. He may be never so kindly in spirit, so flawless in character, so useful in life; there is a petulant earnestness to cast him out if his views happen to be more spiritual than the majority can understand. Only one class did Jesus denounce and warn — those who will allow no such thing as a free church; those who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; who scent heresy with the delight of a young hound on his first trail, finding in the hunt that "to do justice" involves too much delay, and that "to love mercy" is sentimental, while as for "walking humbly before God," they decide what He ought to believe.

Only for such as have been converted and "become as little children" has a free church room, but it has room for all of these. It may well have many divisions; it will have but the one work — the regeneration of humanity.

At Pittsburgh, in the "east end," has been given a practical example of union in work; twenty churches acknowledging that they are comrades, as soldiers in a war; making actually a "war-map" of the district, and assigning to each corps of laborers a part; a Presbyterian minister and a Roman Catholic priest working shoulder to shoulder as the captains of salvation for one division or parish.

In the sixteenth century there was the disruption of Christendom; let us hope that even in this century we are to see the reunion of Christendom. Seers have looked to America as the meeting ground for men, the place where brotherhood is to be recognized. Not until men put hatred out of their hearts, and add to what they have considered "godliness," brotherly kindness, will the Fatherhood of God be truly known. Perhaps thus, in this free land, will be realized the vision of the poet of democracy: —

And thou, America . . . not for thyself thou hast arrived.
The measured faiths of other lands, the grandeurs of the past,
Are not for thee, but grandeurs of thine own,
Deific faiths and amplitudes, absorbing, comprehending all,
All eligible to all.

GEORGE WENTWORTH.

BY J. S. KING, M. D.

I.

"LANDLORD, I believe that this is just the place that I have been looking for. During the past week I have visited your large manufactories, have noted your numerous fine churches and schoolhouses, and the live business that is going on; these, together with your eleven railroads, centring here from every point of the compass, the beautiful and romantic scenery in and about your city, indicate that there is a great future in store for you, and make this a desirable place in which to locate. If I can find suitable employment I will make this my home."

The above was addressed to Mr. Stockwell, the proprietor of the Jefferson Hotel, at Decatur, Ill., by George Wentworth, of New Haven, Conn. Six weeks previous to this he had left his home to seek a new one in the West. He had visited quite a number of cities and larger towns in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but had not found any that suited him until arriving at Decatur. His father had been for a number of years the proprietor of one of the largest hotels in New Haven, but had recently sold out and retired to a suburban residence, whereupon the son decided to go elsewhere.

After inquiring in regard to Mr. Wentworth's experience, and an examination of his letters of recommendation, Mr. Stockwell engaged him as day clerk, to commence in ten days, at which time the old clerk was going to take charge of a hotel in an adjoining place.

Mr. Wentworth proved to be a very efficient person; he made many friends in the city and with the travelling public. He was a gentleman of fine accomplishments, a graduate of Harvard, a good musician, and last, though not least, in the estimation of some, the young ladies pronounced him handsome. He united by letter with the First Methodist church, and became teacher of a class of young ladies in the Sunday school.

Some months had passed when an evangelist came to hold a revival in the Second Methodist church. Most so-called, or, more properly speaking, self-styled, evangelists have a hobby which they ride to the detriment, and sometimes to the death, of true religion; this one had — the second blessing, or sanctification.

He secured quite a number of followers, among the most earnest of whom was George Wentworth. It was thought by some that he was over zealous, but as it seemed only to increase his devotion to the church and religious works, none could find fault or complain.

II.

Among the many beautiful and picturesque residences of Decatur, none excelled and but few equalled that of Mrs. L. A. Gastrell. Her husband had been one of the prosperous merchants of the city. At his death, which occurred some ten years previous to this time, his widow was left in very comfortable circumstances, some said wealthy.

Her only child, Lucile, was a handsome and accomplished young lady of twenty. There was but one thing that marred her happiness — she had a peculiar derangement, or more properly speaking, condition, of the nervous system which subjected her to many unpleasant scenes. It did not affect her health and but few even of the relatives knew of its existence. The old family physician, Dr. McPheeters, had advised both mother and daughter to keep it a secret. He also gave them good reasons to believe that it would be removed in a few years by proper treatment and care. Recently he had advised, as one remedy, a residence of a year or more in California; it was the discussion of this subject that kept them at home on the evening that this chapter opens. Mrs. Gastrell desired to start in a few weeks; Lucile did not think that it was necessary for them to go, as her "spells," as she termed them, had been less frequent during the past year than ever before, hence it was probable that she would soon be entirely relieved of them.

"Then, mother, you know how anxious George is to have me name an early day for our marriage; it would break his heart to be separated from me a whole year."

"As to that, my daughter, you need not give yourself any uneasiness — young men's hearts are very pliable, as they will bend around a number of love affairs without a break or even a twinge. That the time of your marriage should be postponed indefinitely is one of the principal reasons why the doctor urges this trip, and if Mr. Wentworth truly loves you, he will gladly assent to the separation, as it will be for your ultimate happiness and good health. Then, Lucile, you must remember that we really know but little of Mr. Wentworth; it is only about fifteen months since he came to our city." While Mrs. Gastrell was talking the daughter was walking in an excited manner. Suddenly stopping, she exclaimed: —

"Mother, I have always been an obedient child, and would be

so now, did I not feel certain that you are acting entirely under the advice of that crusty old bachelor, Dr. McPheeters, who has prescribed this California trip simply to separate me from my loved one. You, as an old-school Presbyterian, never could understand George and his peculiar beliefs, as you term them; the doctor, although a good Christian and an old-time Methodist, claims that there is something radically wrong with any one who professes complete sanctification. He told me not many months ago that he always watched such persons closely, as they, as a rule, were either arrogant hypocrites, or else were afflicted with a mental degeneration, generally of that form known to the medical profession as circular or alternating insanity, in which the fundamental note of character is an intense and narrow self-regarding egotism. He said that there were no doubt exceptions to this rule, but that they were rare indeed. In such persons, as in all cases where the brain is in any degree diseased, emotional or volitional insanity may suddenly develop, and lead them, under the impulse of an exciting motive, to commit some terrible crime. He advised me for these reasons to wait several years until George had regained his sanity, developed into a maniac, or else had thrown off the assumed religious cloak and exposed the cloven foot; should either of the latter things occur, I would be glad that I had waited; should it be the first, I would be happy indeed. I was indignant to think that the doctor would talk so to me, and told him that I believed that he had elaborated this theory simply to keep me from marrying George. I have great respect for Dr. McPheeters as a medical adviser on strictly professional subjects, but when he wanders into Cupid's domains he is meddling with something that is wholly unintelligible to him, and that which is none of his business. He has never liked George, and largely to his influence do I attribute your prejudice against him. Unless I change my mind there will be no trip to California for me, except as Mrs. Wentworth, accompanied by my husband."

Mrs. Gastrell was surprised and shocked at this, the first evidence of insubordination in her daughter. A further discussion of the subject was postponed indefinitely.

The next evening when George called, Lucile told him what had transpired between mother and daughter. He was greatly grieved, but said, "Your duty is to obey your mother; as much as I desire to claim you as my own in a short time, and as hard as it will be for me to be separated from you, yet I would not have you go contrary to the wishes and advice of your mother; a year will soon roll around, and then no doubt your mother will be willing to give you to me, as I shall endeavor to make myself every way worthy of such a prize."

A few weeks after this, Mrs. Gastrell and her daughter started for California.

III.

On the morning of April 18, 18—, the citizens of Decatur were startled by the announcement that the safe in the store of Pollock and Mason had been robbed during the night of a large quantity of money and of jewelry, including some valuable diamonds, placed there for safe keeping by members of the family and friends. When Mr. Pollock went to the store at about nine o'clock, he was surprised to learn that his private secretary and confidential bookkeeper, Samuel Sylvester, had not yet arrived; he was always promptly at the desk by eight. As he and Mr. Pollock were the only ones who knew the combination of the lock, the assistant bookkeeper had not been able to do anything. On opening the safe Mr. Pollock discovered that everything valuable had been removed. Suspicion at once rested upon Mr. Sylvester. The sheriff went to his room at the Jefferson Hotel, and found him in bed asleep; on being awakened and told that he was a prisoner, he seemed confused and surprised, but stoutly maintained that he knew nothing whatever of the robbery.

In the preliminary trial, which took place immediately before Squire Parsons, the merchant policeman said that as he passed Pollock and Mason's store on North Water Street, about 1 o'clock A. M., he saw Mr. Sylvester enter the store. He recognized him by a new brown spring overcoat that he had seen him wearing during the past few days, with a hat to match. He did not speak to him, as it was not unusual for Mr. Sylvester to enter the store at any time of the night. One of the regular city police testified that he saw Mr. Sylvester on Merchant Street about 2 o'clock A. M. He had on his new brown spring overcoat, with a hat of the same color. He was going towards the Jefferson Hotel. Some other damaging testimony was introduced, which, together with his absence from the store in the morning and his confused action when arrested, pointed to him as the guilty party. The bail was placed at two thousand dollars. His employers, being convinced of his guilt, refused to go on the bond. This deterred others, and it seemed that he would have to lie in jail to await the action of the grand jury. Mr. Wentworth requested the officer who had charge of the prisoner to hold him for an hour while he tried to procure bail. He went to Pollock and Mason and urged them to go on the bond, saying that he did not believe that Mr. Sylvester was guilty, damaging as the evidence seemed to be. They refused. He then said that he had a thousand dollars in bank which he would secure to them for one half of the bail if they would go on the bond for the other half; to this they reluctantly consented,

Mr. Sylvester, on being admitted to bail, said: "I am aware that the evidence is strongly against me, and that unless by some means we can find the guilty one, I shall have to suffer; but as God exists, I am perfectly innocent of the crime. I cannot account for the opening of the safe, except upon the ground that some professional safe-breaker has been in the city, and found the combination as experts can. But it seems strange that he should have had an overcoat and hat like mine. I went to bed at 10 o'clock P. M., and did not awaken until aroused by the officers."

IV.

"Good morning, Dr. McPheeters. I called to talk to you about my cousin, Lucile Gastrell. She writes me that she is very anxious to return home, and requested me to see you, as her mother will not consent to it except on your advice."

"Mr. Donaldson, I hardly think that it would be best for them to return now; it is but six months since they left home, not time enough to make any perceptible change in her condition. This trip is an experimental one. We hope that an entire change of scenery, climate, and social environments will produce the reaction in the nerve centres necessary to relieve Lucile of her unpleasant trance scenes. I could not advise less than a year's absence,—perhaps more time would be better still."

"Doctor, will you please enlighten me as to my cousin's peculiar trouble? She passes into her abnormal states, as you term them, while apparently wide awake, and when in that condition sees and hears things transpiring at far distant places. It is a mystery that I cannot comprehend."

"As to its being mysterious, it is no more so to you, Mr. Donaldson, than to the most learned metaphysician. The attempts of scientific men to formulate laws regarding this and allied conditions of the mind, have been productive of but small results. The more we attempt to fathom the depths of the mental or soul life, the more fully are we convinced that it is beyond our comprehension, and that, like Socrates, we can but say, 'The only thing that we know to a certainty is our own ignorance.' The rude, ignorant pretender often claims to know all about the laws that govern these strange phenomena, but the educated and experienced philosopher knows that he understands nothing. We are told in our standard works on mental philosophy that some law not known to us may exist, by virtue of which the nervous system may become susceptible of impressions not ordinarily received, and put in communication, in some mysterious way, with scenes, places, and events far distant—an inner consciousness, a hidden soul life, not dependent on the bodily organization, which at times comes forth into development,

and manifests itself when the usual relations of body and soul are disturbed or suspended.

"That the mind has a distinct nature and a distinct reality from the body, is evident to every student of mental philosophy. One among the many marked manifestations of this, is in persons like your cousin Lucile. Why this condition is absent in most persons, and so marked in others, we cannot attempt to explain; but we know that between these extremes there is every gradation, from the slight impression of some pending evil or good thing happening to dear friends at a distance, to the vivid reality as witnessed by your cousin when in this dual state.

"Again, this is sometimes manifested in dreams; for while most dreams are but the result of some morbid derangement of the body or brain, yet they occasionally become the medium through which we are put in communication with persons and places far away. Further, there are many cases recorded in our standard scientific works where dreams have been prophetic. Abercrombie in his 'Treatise on Mental Philosophy' says, 'A class of dreams which present an interesting subject of observation are those, many of them well authenticated, in which a dream has given notice of an event which was occurring at the time, or which was soon to occur.' Again, in somnambulism, which is but an acted dream, how the subject can read, write, or run through dark and intricate places without the aid of sight is not apparent, but it is done. It shows that our ordinary way of perceiving things is not the only way; that special organs of vision are not needed in order to all perceptions.

"These and many other well-established facts in regard to our immaterial organization, prove beyond a doubt that the soul can and does have a distinct and separate existence in this life, as well as in the life to come. This subject has not been studied much by the people at large, as ignorant impostors and travelling lecturers have brought it somewhat into disrepute by their erroneous pretensions of being able to use it as suited their purpose to extract money from an easily humbugged public. But you can see, Mr. Donaldson, that your cousin is a living illustration of these mysterious laws; we have many similar and equally well-marked cases recorded by our most reliable and eminent metaphysicians. But here comes the mail — wait until I have looked over my letters and I will go with you, as our routes dinnerwards are the same. By the way, here is a letter from Lucile."

V.

As the doctor read the letter, it was evident that it contained something of unusual interest; ever and anon an exclamation of surprise would escape from his lips. As he finished reading he

said: "Mr. Donaldson, here is one of the most wonderful manifestations of your cousin's dual organization that has ever taken place, and I am so firmly convinced of its truth that I will not go to dinner until I have thoroughly investigated the subject. Listen while I read:"—

* SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., April 18, 18—.

DEAR DOCTOR:—I am hardly in a condition to write you this morning, but I cannot refrain from attempting it; last night something so strange and absurd happened to me that I must relate it to you at once. I say absurd, because it is so opposed to anything that could transpire, and it will convince you that my trance states can sometimes picture to my mind erroneous things, notwithstanding your assertions to the contrary.

About half past ten o'clock, which you know would be about 1 o'clock A. M., Decatur time, I was in my room trying to quiet my nerves by reading, as I had been feeling unusually depressed in spirits for about two hours. Suddenly I found myself on Water Street in Decatur, in front of the large store of Pollock and Mason. Soon a man approached whom I at once recognized as George Wentworth, notwithstanding that he had on a brown overcoat and hat of same color, different from anything he ever wore, as you know he always dressed in black. He opened the front door of the store with a key which he took from the overcoat pocket, walked briskly back into the private office, where a gas light was burning, seated himself in front of the safe, took a piece of paper from his pocket which he studied for a time, then commenced turning the knob on the safe; in a few minutes the door was opened, when with a small key he opened the inner vault, took therefrom a large quantity of gold coin and jewelry, which he placed in the overcoat pocket, locked the safe, and went out. He passed around on to Merchant Street, and went into a room on the third floor, about the middle of the block. He lighted a lamp, placed the valuables in the upper drawer of an old-fashioned red bureau that stood in one corner, locked the drawer and the door of the room, then went over to the Jefferson Hotel.

Then the scene changed, and I found myself here, with the book I had been reading still in my hand. I was very much excited, so much so that I could not sleep until I had taken some of the anodyne which you ordered me to use when nervous.

Now, doctor, do you not agree with me that this is perfectly ridiculous? and does it not convince you that even Dr. McPheeters can sometimes make a mistake when attempting to elucidate a scientific question?—as you must admit that for once, at least, my vision has been false. Well, I will laugh over it with you when I reach Decatur, which I hope will be in the near future.

You must write mother at once, telling her that we can return home, as I am very homesick. Do so immediately—that is a good old doctor. Good by.

LUCILE.

Mr. Donaldson said that he could but think with his cousin, that the vision was too absurd to be believed, notwithstanding the coincidence of the brown overcoat; yet he was willing to go with the doctor to procure the necessary officers and papers to make a search of the room on Merchant Street, which would confirm or contradict the revelations of the letter. They got the warrant from 'Squire Parsons, and an officer to serve it. On entering the room they found the red bureau, in the top corner

of which were secreted the valuables which had been taken from the safe. Mr. Pollock, who had accompanied them, found that everything was there. The articles were placed in the hands of the officer, subject to the order of the court. A warrant was taken out for the arrest of George Wentworth, but he could not be found.

VI.

A few days after the discovery of the stolen property, the following letter was received. It was not dated, and had been mailed on some railroad, which could not be made out, as the stamp was blurred:—

Messrs. Pollock and Mason,

GENTLEMEN:—When this reaches you I will be in a far distant part of the country, where under an assumed name I shall commence a new life, and try to make amends for the great crime that I committed. As I look at the terrible deed now, it is impossible for me to conceive how or under what influence it was done. An evil demon seemed to have taken possession of me—I was not myself.

On the evening of the crime, Mr. Sylvester went to his room in the Jefferson Hotel immediately after supper; my room adjoined his, the door between being partially open. Shortly after eight o'clock Mr. Pollock came to his room, and I soon learned from their conversation that they had a new combination for the safe at the store, and that this had been done as a large quantity of gold coin had been placed in the safe, together with a number of valuable diamonds and other costly jewelry. Mr. Pollock and Mr. Sylvester ran over the combination together, each writing it down on a piece of paper. Suddenly I felt an uncontrollable desire to possess that wealth. I listened attentively to every word that was spoken, and deliberately laid the plan by which I would secure the prize, and yet not be suspected.

After Mr. Pollock left I ordered ice cream and lemonade sent to my room, also some cake and fruit; I then invited Mr. Sylvester to join me, which he did. While giving out the good things I placed an anodyne in Mr. Sylvester's portion. In a short time he said that I must excuse him, as he must retire, for he felt very sleepy.

About one o'clock I went into his room, put on his new brown spring overcoat and hat, that no one should think strange of seeing me go into the store,—as I had often been taken for him, even in the daytime,—took a copy of the combination which was on the table, and went to the store, where I had but little trouble in opening the safe. After securing all of the money and valuable jewels, I took them to a room on Merchant Street, feeling secure in secreting them there, as no one knew that I occupied that room. I then returned to the hotel feeling happy over my ill-gotten wealth, and in the fact that I would not be in the least danger of being thought of as connected with the robbery; forgetting that the eye of God had been upon me, and that He would bring me to judgment, as He has. How mysterious His ways in this case—the girl whom I love better than my own life being the innocent instrument of revealing my guilt to the world.

As I write, and look back over the events of that night, it seems but as a dream. I had never committed a theft before, nor had the least inclination to do so.

Now gentlemen, I wish, as far as possible, to make amends for the great wrong that I have committed. I am glad to know that you recov-

ered all of the valuables taken from the safe. That thousand dollars which I placed to your order as security on the bond, you will pay to Mr. Sylvester as a partial compensation for the suffering that I have caused him. If I am prospered in worldly goods, I will pay him much more before I die. Ask him to forgive me, and I hope that you will do so, and pity a poor fellow-being who was too weak to resist a great temptation, and that, too, when I had become egotistical enough to believe that I was above the power of Satan.

Farewell. For the last time I sign my name

GEORGE WENTWORTH.

"IN DE MIZ."

BY LASALLE CORBELL PICKETT (MRS. GENERAL PICKETT).

PREFACE.

[WILL those of my readers who do not know the ways and habits and hearts of my colored people of the Old South kindly first read this preface in explanation or extenuation, as it may be, of my old black mammy's origin of her race, "In De Miz," which as I wrote, across the years thought and memory took me back to the days when life's water was wine, and made of me a child again looking up into the dear, dusky face of that beloved black mammy, listening with my unhurt faith to the folk lore of her speculative midnight race, as she solved in her own random shadowings its dim mysteries, giving birth to thoughts that strike reason dumb, the while her passiveness, duty, wise submission, loyalty, and love, made no quiritation of wrongs to right.

There was no term held in more reverential love and fear than the one word "Master" by the faithful Southern slave; his soul's divided service was between his master and his God; his religion, fraught with the supernatural, was as broad as the narrow grasp of his mind could reach; his conception of the greatness of God was measured by his crude, untrained brain.

In his eyes the taking of a "chaw" of tobacco was a dignified, luxurious custom, and one in which his paragon of perfection, the Southern master, usually liberally indulged. In talking to us children, to have said "Lord" without the prefix of the word Marsa (Master), would have been to him unwonted disrespect to, and unpardonable familiarity with, the omnipotent, all-wise, all-merciful great Being.

There was no want of reverence in his comparison with and rapt copartnership of his heavenly Father and his earthly master, but instead thereof a sublime recognition of the fellowship of God in his simple heart, his intuitive conception of two-ness as of one-ness, the incompleteness of man apart from God, verifying

"So close is glory to our dust,
So near is God to man."]

Deed, honey, it am de gorspel truf, leas'wise dats de way I yearn it tol', en I ain neber 'yearn it sputed. Taint no use er dese yere niggers bein' so arrified 'bout it, nother. En dat w'at I

years, yer gits strai't lak I yearn it, kaze ef twa'n fer de w'ite fo'kes dar would'n be no niggers 'tall (dat is, dar would'n be none ter year tell on).

Twuz a long time ergo — 'way in de beginnin' w'en dar wan' no fundament en no plantations, en dar wan' but des wun pusson alivin', en he wuz Marsa Jesus' pa. En he mun, wuz de out'nes, mos' suviguses, mos' stronges, mos' swiffes, wun eber wuz. Eve'y t'ing den wuz hisen, en do he wuz dat rich en had so much per-sesshuns 'blongin' ter 'im, he cou'd tu'n de han' en mek anyt'ing he sot he min' on (en outer nuttin at dat).

De fus en fo'mus t'ing he mek, do, wuz he bes, en in co'se it orter be, w'en you comes ter dat; kaze 'twuz *Heben*.

Atter dat, he mek de earf en de sea en-all-dat *In De Miz*. But der ain't nobody neber yeared nuffin' 'tall 'bout dem t'ings w'ats in de Miz, fer you see 'twuz lak dis: W'en Marsa Lord spile anyt'ing he wuz amekin on, he flung it in de Miz, bekaze ef he had'n he cou'd'n sey, w'en he wuz dun thoo wid his wuk, dat "He saw 'twuz good."

Well, 'twuz nigh on ter Sunday, en he 'gin ter study 'bout w'at he gwineter mek nex, w'ich 'twuz de een ov de week, en he 'termin' fer his las' piec' a wuk ter outdo all adem yu'ther ones; en w'iles he wuz mekin up he min' en ponderin', he tuk de pail en wen' 'long ter de well ter draw sum water, w'en des' 'fo' he lit de bucket down, lo-en-beholes he seed hisse'f 'flected. He wuz dat pleas' and s'prised he wuz struck dum'. But des ez soon ez he git ober his 'stonishment, he stop studyin' en he low dat long ez he turn't out so many good jobs, he b'leeve he try jubblicate hise'f.

Den I 'spose he t'ink too, w'en he look 'roun' en see all dat 'blongs ter 'im, dat, "It's a mighty po' bee don' mek mo' honey dan he wan' fer hisse'f," but dat's needer yer ner dar, fer 'twan mo'n 'sided 'tween hisse'f en his min' 'fo' he git out'n his tools agin, he did, en he tuk some uv de earf w'ere he mek ov er We'nzdy en rol' up he sleeves, tuck er chaw er terbacker, en wen' ter wuk. En he mek a couple a dem Inizimagis (he allers mek two ov er same kine), en tend ter mek um per-zackly lak he wuz hese'f, des ez pritty, too, kaze de Lord ain' got nare stingyfed sumpshus bone in he 'hole body.

Den bimeby attter he git thoo, he call Marsa Gabe (dat wuz he oberseer, de haid man 'boutn de place w'at bosses de han's) en tol' 'im ter go fotch de w'eelbarr' en tek bof dem dar Inizimagis (fer in dem days dey wan name menses) en sot em in de sun whar' dey could be a-dryin' darse'fs.

Well, sah, de way Marsa Gabe open he eyes en mek 'miration w'en he see w'at he did see! but he ain' say nuttin, sepin' he des bow he haid, tech his fo'lock, en skrope he rite foots, en show

hiz manners lak he wuz brung up ter do, bekaze he mighty 'especkful, en sez, sezee:—

"Yes, sah." So he tuck um up, des ez keerful ez he kin, skeered on um en tarrified widin er inch uv his life too, leas'-wise he had a mighty funny feelin' in de naberhood er de gizzard (ef he wan' skeered en tarrified), en lay um down in de w'eelbarr' en amble off ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, twell he comed up 'long side de apple dryer, whar' de sun wuz hottes', en sot em bof up 'ginst it on de behime side un it, en lef' um, en wen' 'long 'bouten he bizness, asorter dallyin' roun' twell he masser lay down (lak he mos' in gen'ally does in de ebenin') ter tek he nap. He wan' 'feared er ober sleepin' hisse'f needer, he knowed pintedly he gwineter wek up perzackly ter de minit dat dey wuz dry nuf ter wuk on ag'in (w'ich he did sho 'nuff).

Den he call Marsa Gabe, en tol' 'im fer ter go 'long fetch dem Inizimagis fer 'im ter put some bref in, en finish up. Marsa Gabe pull off'n he hat ag'in, tocht he haid, skrope he foots des lak he did afo, en sez, "Yes, sah." Ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, ca-pluck-a-te-pluck. But laws er massy on us! W'en he git ter de place whar' he knowed he lef' um, dar wa'n but wun uv um dar. He look eberywhar', but 'tain no use; he kan' fins' but des bar'ly de wun dat he seed w'en he fus comed. He look-en-he-look-en-he-look en scratch he haid en studdy, mounstous pestered bout'n it too, en wukken his thunkin' masheen fer all he knowed.

He fotch bofe, en dar wan' but wun; en w'iles he wuz a kalkulatin' how dat could a happen, w'ether sum er dem varmintses er beasteses er cropin' t'ings, dat wuz made dat same Saddy mornin' could er kotch de missin' wun, en wuz a sayin' ter hisse'f, "Dat folks w'ats allers pesterin' en bodderin' long wa't ain' dern, en ain' got no bizness wid, orter neber come ter no good een, en beasteses en varmints too ez ter dat des de same ez re'l pussons," w'en he yeard Marsa Lord woice a-callin', "Gabe, G-a-b-e, you Gabe, come along wid you, w'at you trollopin' long dar fer, a-wasin' my time—you gwine ter tek all day? you better come long dar 'fo you fins' out who's w'ich, en w'ich is who."

Marsa Gabe, he twemble all ober; but he kan' fool long dat losted one no mo'; he knowed he bleegeed ter go, so he tuck de wun whar' he had en kyar dat long des ez fas' ez he kin trot. He wuz far'ly kivered wid mud en mighty nigh outer win' w'en he brung up long side de wuk shop en hist 'im out.

En I tell you he lay mighty low en ain't say nuttin' 'tall 'bout de terr' wun whar' he couldn' fins'; bekaze he thunk to hisse'f, "Maybe Marsa Lord mouter fergit *hisse'f*, 'bout dar bein' two on um," but he did'n, no mun dat he did'n.

W'y—dey say he's dat 'tickler he tuck er count ov all de sparrows en number de ve'y h'ars ov de he'ds, w'en he mek um. En w'en he see dar wa'n but wun, he cl'ar up he th'oat, en talk biggerty, des lak he did wunce 'fo' (long time atter dis time, do). 'Twuz outen doo's in de gyarden in de cool er de day (dat same day w'en Marsa Adam en' he wife hide derse'fs), en dey say dat dat time you could year his woice a-walkin'!

Well, he crowd he eyebrows up tergedder, sorter shett up bofe eyes alak, en sez, sez 'ee, "Boy! whar'—dat yuther wun?"

Marsa Gabe look mighty sheepish, en slunk ba'k'ards. 'Twuz tetch en go mun wid 'im, I tell you. So he low, "Wuz dar two on 'em?"

En de word wan' mo'n out'en his mouf, w'en he seed 'twan' no use projeckin' wid Marsa Lord, kaze twiz de bug en de bee martin, t'ain hard ter tell w'ich gwine ter git kotch, en so he up en tol' all 'bout it; how 'ticular he wuz, en how he sot bofe on 'em down tergedder a-techin wuner-nudder side by sides, en how w'en he wen' back ter fetch em (des lak he wuz tole), dar wa'n but des bar'ly wun ter behole, en he low dat he wuz gwineter keep on a-lookin' w'en he yearn hisse'f call. Den Marsa Lord look 'dignant, he woice roar, de earf shuck, en he 'spon: "Gabe—go fetch dat yuther missin' wun. You year, sah?"

Den Marsa Gabe say (des lak de patter-roller wuz behime 'im), "Yes, sah, I gwine ret 'long," en he huddle he'se'f up tergedder sorter skittish, lak he wuz a-dodgin'; en wen 'long back, en tuck all de pains he kin. He look fus wun side en den ter'r; den he tuck 'n ben' down he haid mo'nful. He wuz des gwine hump he'se'f up en tu'n en go back w'en he drapped he eyes; en dar, krouched *ker-flap* on de groun', wuz de ter' wun. A li'e mo', en he'd a-trompled on 'im.

Den, ef you b'leeve it, he skivered he wuz bu'nt black ez er cole, mouf wide open, w'ite teef er shinin', en jam by a poun' er wool on he haid whar' de sun dun kink all up. Fars er sleep, too. "I clar ter grashus!" sezee, "spose he dun git ter noddin' en fall ober; he mout er git kotch wid emptiness in de pit er de stum-muck, er he mout en got ter hoanin atter sumpin t'eat." But eny how dar he wuz, des lak I tell you; en dey sez dat dat's de kasion er niggers bein' so sleepy haided ter dis day.

Well, Marsa Gabe, he krope down on he all fo'es, en tuck 'im up en tote 'im ter de w'eelbarr' en den kyar' im long ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, ca-pluck-a-te-pluck, ca-pluck-a-te-pluck.

Now, den, w'en Marsa Lord look en seed dat hiz wuk wuz all sp'ilt en ruint, dat de sun dun mos' bu'n it black ez er charcoal, he shuk he haid en bat he eyes en turnt up he nose lak, en sez, sezee: "He ain' worf folln' time en boderen' long wid. Tek 'im, Gabe, en go fling 'im 'in de Miz.'"

By dat time Marsa Lord wuz dun thoo wid dat fus wun, en he wuz a stannin' up 'periently lak he thunk he wuz in a crowd, wid his han's in his britches pocket, hat cocked on wun side, smokin' er seegyar. En he bow mighty familious lak en tooken bodaciously open up de confab hisse'f wid Marsa Lord, en sez, sezee: "Škuze me, Lord, but don' 'stroy 'im, pleas'. Don' fling 'im 'in de Miz,' go'n en finish 'im up, en gi' 'im ter me ter wait on me."

En so de Lord did. He retch up en git de kyarvin knife down, en kyarved off'n de loos'nes uv de bu'nt poshuns, en den tuck sum san' paper en polish 'im en fix 'im up de bes' he kin (out'n er bad job), en gin 'im ter de w'ite man ter wait on 'im; en he bin awaitin' on 'im eber sense fum dat time forre'd twell dis prsen' day, en hits wunner dese yer jobs w'ats gwinter las' er long time — don' you fergit dat off'n yo' min.

En it's bleedged ter be dat away, honey; 'twan' none er we-alls choozn, howsumeber dat may be, but all de same we'se boun' ter mek de bes' un hit. De moon may shine, but a litered knot's mighty handy ter hab roun'; hits bet'r ter be sumpin dan nuttin.

THE COMING RELIGION.

B. O. FLOWER.

Love will conquer all at last.

—TENNYSON.

Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger
And in its ashes plant the tree of Peace.

—WHITTIER.

To hunt the tiger of oppression out
From office; and to spread the Divine Faith
Like calming oil on all the stormy creeds,
And fill the hollows between wave and wave;
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth,
And alchemize old hates into the gold of Love.

—TENNYSON.

Through the harsh noises of our day
A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear,
A light is breaking calm and clear.

That song of Love, now low and far,
Ere long shall swell from star to star;
That light, the breaking day, which tips
The golden-spined Apocalypse.

—WHITTIER.

PERHAPS few persons outside of scholarly theologians appreciate the magnitude or far-reaching significance of the revolution in progress throughout the Christian world, which is rapidly changing religious conceptions regarding man and his relations to the Infinite. The profound students of life and religion in modern times have found many thought-compelling facts confronting them which were unknown to the great spiritual leaders of earlier days. However fearless and fond of truth they may have been, in the very nature of the case they did not and could not utter the final word. Humanity, actuated by the spirit of the Infinite, is ever pressing onward in search of spiritual illumination. The desire for knowledge becomes a passion with high-born natures. To know the truth is the supreme attainment, the ultimate of man's dream. And in his ever onward march he is like a traveller ascending a mountain range: each day a broader world unfolds before his vision; each day he sees how incomplete was his conception, and how inaccurate his conclusion based on the outlook of the day before.

The wonderful progress of the race during the present century, due largely to systematic and intelligent research, has opened up broad vistas of truth never before suspected. Man's conception

of the universe and of the All-knowing One, whose life thrills through all life, was never so exalted as to-day. But these great revelations, while broadening human conception and exalting man's ideals, have revealed the fact that many positions maintained by theologians, when human vision was more circumscribed, are untenable in the broader truth revealed by the Infinite to the children of this generation. That the new vistas opened to view by human progress and the falling away of old-time limitations should awaken feelings of a widely different nature in the breasts of men equally sincere, is by no means strange.

To one class of theological students the revelations of our day are an inspiration, calling forth their highest and holiest endeavors. To them the Creator is no longer the God of a peculiar people, with an ear for ages deaf to the cry of earth's teeming millions, but in Him they behold the Love and Life-Essence of the universe. Instead of a greatly magnified man, they see a wise, order-loving, and conscious Energy, which through the tireless ages, step by step, leads life from the lowest forms on to heaven-aspiring man. To them, in the light of to-day, religion reflects the sanity of the Infinite.

On the other hand, a large number of equally sincere Biblical scholars, who have from the cradle learned that all religions from Alpha to Omega lay between the covers of our sacred book, look upon the *new thought* with the greatest apprehension. They are not willing to recognize the strands of gold in the great religions of other ages. Their conception of God is such that they cannot imagine He has spoken in any *vital* way to the millions upon millions of aspiring souls of earth through any other channels than the Jewish Scriptures and the New Testament. They believe it is dangerous to study comparative theology. They fear they may offend the Almighty and imperil their own souls by opening their eyes to the new heaven and the new earth, which the panorama of our century has unfolded before their vision. Their timidity, however, is no more striking than their fear lest the triumph of the new thought might prove fatal to religion.

Ah, they little know the human soul, which in all climes and under all conditions has *loved and aspired*; which in savage and civilized alike, for untold ages, has, from contemplation of the wayside flower, turned to the limitless ether above with a question and a prayer; the human soul which turns to the Omnipotent Conscious Energy which pervades the universe as naturally as does the blade of grass pierce sunward through the sod, or as the babe turns to its mother for consolation and caress. There are many points widely divergent among the great races of earth; but the soul of each great people has recognized

intuitively an overruling Intelligence. As the needle of the compass points to the pole, so the deathless monitor of the human brain has ever pointed to the All-knowing One who guides the destinies of systems of worlds, and whose action is expressed through immutable law.

The conflict so deeply stirring the religious world is the result of facts which the new time has revealed to mankind — facts which cannot longer be dismissed by the wholesale denunciation of those who have frankly faced the new problems. A man who wishes to sleep in the morning may draw down the blinds when the light faintly streaks the east, and for a time forget that the day approaches; but ere long the risen sun floods the land with light, its beams creep in on either side of the curtain, the carol of the birds proclaims the day, and the bustle and turmoil of life in action force him to realize that the night has passed.

So it is to-day. The revelations of modern science in the physical world; archaeological discoveries of this century; the research of orientalists who have brought before the mind of the occidental world the great religions of the far East; inventions which have rendered travel easy, and which are fast making the whole world an immense family; scientific investigation of psychical phenomena; together with numerous other influences, more or less closely allied to some of these major agencies — have rendered it futile for the church longer to ignore problems which have already influenced, to a greater or less degree, every intelligent person who has to any extent kept in touch with the intellectual progress of the present century.

I now desire to notice briefly some of the principal thought-moulding influences which, by appealing to man from various points of view, have silently wrought a revolution in the popular conception of the Infinite One, of creation, human destiny, and other problems of vital bearing upon mankind.

(1) *Progress in Physical Science.* Every step taken by man in his slow and painful ascent has awakened the same fear and called forth the same antagonism which convulses many theological centres to-day; but throughout the past we find that the broader vision has ultimately taken the place of the more contracted and childish conceptions of the race, exactly as manhood evolves from childhood.

When a great truth comes vaguely before the conscience of man, and he knocks perseveringly and earnestly at the door of knowledge, it usually opens in answer to his thought-compelling desire, notwithstanding the fact that progress is slow, and often in action resembles the ebb and flow of the tide. Thus a luminous truth has frequently come forth in response to the soul

cry of a great nature or in answer to the laborious research of some high-born soul, but when given to the world, it has awakened a storm of opposition, which not infrequently ended in the martyrdom of the prophet or scientist, and the receding of the tide, until another, taking up the same idea, has added from his higher interior vision to its luminosity, or succeeded in arresting the attention of the world by proof more tangible to the physical senses. Thus it has ever been in the history of religious thought, of scientific truth and philosophical speculation; but peering up the vista of the past from the vantage ground of to-day, it is clear that the general trend has been onward and upward.

“And step by step since time began
We see the steady gain of man.
That all the good the past has had
Remains to make our own time glad;
And still the new transcends the old
In signs and tokens manifold.”

Perhaps the most pronounced of the present century influences which have led to what is popularly known as the new theology or higher criticism, is found in the wonderful strides taken in the realm of physical science, and the rise of modern critical methods.

Charles Darwin and Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, taking up the thread cast out by Lamark and Erasmus Darwin, patiently and persistently accumulated fact upon fact which when arranged and classified, with their logical deductions, proved an impregnable bulwark for the theory of evolutionary development. These great working naturalists, reinforced by the magnificent deductions of Herbert Spencer, or perhaps I should say reinforced with a formidable array of incontrovertible facts, and the luminous and far-reaching philosophy of Mr. Spencer, and with their co-laborers, succeeded in arousing the attention of the world. Of the storm which followed little need be said, for the day has so recently passed that most readers will remember the bitter hostility provoked by this new view of the development of life.

In 1876 Rev. Minot J. Savage, the eminent Boston Unitarian divine, after an exhaustive study of the subject, frankly accepted the evolutionary theory, and delivered a series of lectures on “Evolution and Religion.” At that time he stood almost alone among theologians, but since then evolution has not only been accepted as conclusive by a vast majority of scientists of recognized ability, but numbers of the most illustrious theological scholars in orthodox churches have accepted it as proved beyond reasonable doubt. And it is interesting to observe that the

men among the great orthodox denominations who have given adhesion to this theory of life are as spiritual as they are intellectual. Who, for example, among orthodox European writers, has done so much in recent years to awaken a deep religious sentiment in the hearts of the people as Professor Drummond? — and yet in his series of scholarly lectures on evolution, delivered during the past winter in Boston, he unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly accepted this theory of the development of life. Who among American orthodox divines is more spiritual and in more perfect sympathy with the great burden-bearing masses of our day, than Dr. Lyman Abbott, another evolutionist? And so I might continue to enumerate many of the most truly spiritual leaders of the religious world, who have during the past decade unhesitatingly declared their belief in this theory of life.

II. *Archæological Research.* The patient research among the ruins of long-departed civilizations, carried on with such tireless perseverance during this century, has turned a flood of light upon our own sacred Book, and also upon the religious beliefs of those who lived before or contemporaneous with Israel; while excavations in Greece and Italy and a careful examination of the oldest New Testament manuscripts extant, have revealed to those who place truth above prejudice many vitally important truths regarding our New Testament Scripture and popular Christian theology.

III. *The Religions of the East.* Second only to evolution in its influence upon the thought of our day has been the result of modern scholarship in bringing to the light of the occidental world the ancient religions of the far East. To Max Müller and other indefatigable workers we owe much for the broader vision of religion which is the heritage of our time, for through the conscientious work of these scholars, the student of religion has found that God had spoken to the world in various ages and through many tongues. Thus, instead of being a jealous and partial God, the thoughtful believer who studies truth as brought to light through archæological research, and as unfolded in the great religions of Asia, finds the golden thread of lofty ethics, the spirit of the Golden Rule, and the supreme truth that in unselfishness lies the secret of the greatest happiness, reflected, more or less clearly, in all earth's greatest religions. He is able to say with Max Müller, "There is no religion which does not say 'Do good and avoid evil.'" Moreover, he finds in the ancient sacred works of the East much which bears the stamp of the highest inspiration, as well as a vast accumulation of material thoroughly puerile and absurd in character. He finds Confucius teaching: —

No virtue is higher than love to all men, and there is no loftier aim in government than to profit all men.* . . . Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. And when there is concord among brethren the harmony is delightful and enduring.

In the Avesta, the sacred book of Persia, he reads: —

The reward which thou hast given to those of the same law as thyself, O Lord, All-knowing, that give thou to us. May we attain to that, namely, union with thy purity for all eternity.† . . . Holiness is the best of all good. ‡

In the Rig-Veda of India he finds such lofty hymns as the following: —

Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
 He who gives life; He who gives strength;
 Whose command all the bright gods revere;
 Whose shadow is immortality.
 Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
 He who through his power is the one King of the breathing and awakening world;
 Who governs all, man and beast.
 Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
 He whose greatness those snowy mountains, whose greatness the sea proclaims;
 He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm;
 He through whom the heaven was established — nay, the highest heaven;
 He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by his will, look up.
 Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
 He who by his might looked even over the water-clouds —
 The clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice;
 He who alone is God above all gods.

Again, in the Bible of the Buddhists he finds such exalted teachings as the following: —

Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love. . . . A man who foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love. The more evil cometh from him, the more good shall go from me. . . . If a man live a hundred years and spend the whole of his time in religious attention and offerings to the gods, sacrificing elephants and horses, all this is not equal to one act of pure love in saving life. . . . Not in the void of heaven, not in the depths of the sea, not by entering the rocky cliffs of the mountains, not in any of these places, or by any means, can a man escape the consequences of his evil deed.§

Then turning to the Stoics of Greece and Rome, he finds the same exalted ethics. He notes Epictetus, the philosopher, saying: —

What ought not to be done, *do not even think*. . . . Remember you are an actor of just such a part as is assigned you by the Poet of the play — of a short part if the part be short, of a long part if the part

* Shu-king.

† Yasht XXIV.

‡ Yazna XI.

§ Tripitaka.

be long. Should He wish you to act the part of a beggar, take care to act it naturally and nobly; and the same if it be the part of a lame man, or a ruler, or a private man. For this is in your power, to act well the part assigned you. . . . Nothing is nobler than high-mindedness and gentleness and philanthropy and doing good. . . . Prescribe for yourself an ideal and then act up to it.

And thus he hears God speaking through the noblest souls of every age and to every people. He finds the golden thread of divine wisdom running through all the noblest faiths, but he also finds much dross in all.

IV. *The multitudinous inventions* which have followed the utilization of steam and electricity constitute another important factor. These have taken away the terror of travel, and have enabled the nations of the earth to mingle one with another. No one can estimate the extent of the subtle but very potent influences which this commingling of the followers of the various great religions has exerted on the mind of mankind, modifying and enlarging the views until the old ideas seem no longer tenable. I do not know as I can better illustrate this than by quoting from a dialogue which recently took place at the World's Fair, and was there reported by an editorial contributor to *Unity*:—

Near the great Ferris wheel you may chance upon a Brahmin who is busy turning off very pleasing effects on little cards with his thumb nail. He has bright eyes and a plentiful flow of wit. He is usually surrounded by admiring ladies.

"Only one nickel, lady; will you buy? You seem interested."

The lady has been studying him intently for some minutes.

"No, I believe not. But I would like to know if you are a Christian?"

"A Christian! No, indeed. Why should I be a Christian? I am a Brahmin. As well ask, 'Are you a Brahmin?' but I know you could not be. No more could you be a Christian if you were born in Turkey. You would be Mohammedan sure. For Bible you would read the Koran—"

"That is not my opinion."

"Opinion! It is not opinion, it is fact. We are all born to our religion. But it's all the same—Mohammedan, Christian. Have a flower, lady?"

Another lady, interposing,—"I would like one with your autograph."

"Oh, sure! 'Tis but a moment to write it." And as he writes:

"This is not my profession. I wished to come to the fair. My people say no. But the vessel come, the vessel go, and I was gone, too. So I make my thumb nail—I learn it when a boy—to serve me. I earn some money, I see the fair, I go home. As for my religion, I am nobody here. Here, the Christian on top, I am under. At home I am on top, the Christian under. But we should not be so unkind. Apple pie you like; lemon pie I like; but it's *pie* all the same. So with religion—different but the same."

"But have you no fear of going to hell?" persisted the lady, intent on his soul.

"To hell? Oh, no! I fear to go nowhere; so hell is not in me, I am everywhere safe."

V. *Psychical Phenomena.* We are just beginning to understand that a marvellous realm remains for the sympathetic scientist in the field of psychic research. When modern Spiritualism arose, science sneered and theology raged; but despite the fraud practised, despite the ignorance of sensitives, despite the frown of conventionalism, of religion, and of science, it spread throughout the civilized world, until to-day it would be difficult to estimate the number of persons who believe in the reality of psychic phenomena. Among those who do believe are many eminent scientists, professors, theologians, and scholars in every profession, and the phenomena which called forth the anathema of the church a generation ago, have within the past three months elicited the following expression from the eminent orthodox English clergyman, Rev. H. R. Haweis *: —

Occultism is not only a question; it is *the* question of the day. The recognition of it is the strength of Roman Catholicism; the denial of it is the weakness of the Protestant and Unitarian churches. The occult is not a new thing, but the scientific treatment of it is new. The blot upon Roman Catholic occultism is its rejection of scientific investigation; the blot upon rationalist religion is its denial of the facts. The facts have always existed, but never, until now, has scientific examination been possible. Progress in the occult is, therefore, now for the first time possible.

Electricity has been known for thousands of years, but the electric telegraph is a thing of yesterday. Musical sound, and susceptibility to it, have existed for ages, but the art of music, as an independent art, is only four hundred years old. It had to wait for the simple discovery of the octave and the perfect cadence; then it made gigantic strides.

We must have a grammar of accident in art, in literature, in science, and religion. We must have not only facts but formulae. Science will shortly be the handmaid of so-called supernaturalism — the acolyte of religion.

The independent spiritual consciousness of man — a something *not* matter *in* matter — is about to be established. The survival of human personality after the shock and redistribution of atoms which we call death, will shortly be proved — and proved again and again, and to order.

Presently the race, through the enormous enlargement and the abnormal development of its mental and spiritual faculties, will take strides unknown and, at present, incalculable; and the man of the near future may be as far above the man of the present day as the man of our day is beyond the troglodyte or the prehistoric cave dweller.

After the spiritual phenomena came what was known as Christian Science and Mental Healing. The remarkable cures of cases pronounced incurable by scholarly physicians soon awakened general interest in the philosophy, which in its essence strongly resembled much of the metaphysical thought of India. Almost parallel with the rise of Christian Science, came what is popularly known as Theosophy, a somewhat modernized and

* Mr. W. T. Stead, *New Psychical Quarterly*, *Borderland*, July, 1893.

occidentalized presentation of Buddhism. All these waves of psychical and metaphysical thought, while denounced as "delusions," produced profound impressions on a receptive public, and all tended to lift the mind of man from gross materialism to contemplation of the power of mind, the result of thought, and the probability of demonstrating the reality of a life after death in a scientific manner.

Now while the phenomena which gave rise to the philosophy of modern Spiritualism was attracting much attention, an eminent English physician by the name of Braid determined to overthrow a "delusion of mesmerism," which, notwithstanding the report made by the famous Bailey Commissioners, in which it was characterized as a fraud, had refused to die. This physician began his investigations under the popular impression that mesmerism was a fraud. In the end he established the verity of the phenomena, and rechristened it hypnotism.

During recent years the Society for Psychical Research, in England, and still later the American Psychical Society, have been engaged in careful, critical, and scientific examinations of psychical phenomena, with results which cannot be ignored by the thoughtful among theological scholars.

It will be seen that many and complex have been the agencies which have borne the thought of the world to a higher altitude, and have compelled a readjustment of religious conceptions. Europe was not the Europe of the Middle Ages after the printing press had been invented, after Copernicus and Galileo had made their discoveries and deductions, after Titian, Da Vinci, Angelo, and Raphael had wrought for art, after Columbus had discovered America, or the Reformation had been ushered in. So the world to-day is not the world in which men lived before Darwin, Wallace, Spencer, and Proctor came upon the stage of life; before archaeological discoveries had revealed valuable facts to truth-loving minds; before modern scholarship had unfolded the treasures of the religion of the far East; before the inventions of this century had bound the world together as one family; before psychical phenomena challenged public attention, and metaphysical thought lifted man's eyes from the earth and the exterior to the contemplation of mind. So multitudinous have been the changes and so rapid the progress of recent decades, that it is no exaggeration to say that we are living in a new world, and he who would help mankind in any vital way must recognize this truth. This is precisely what the earnest thinkers among the theologians, who have embraced what is known as the higher criticism, appreciate. They have come up from the lower plane with the onward marching thought of the age, and, having caught a glimpse of the broader horizon of

truth, are fearlessly championing the higher conceptions of religion and nobler ideals of the nature of God. And because these scholars are walking hand in hand into the larger truth which God has given to the world to-day, they will succeed, and their success means far more than the triumph of a faction. It will mark a higher altitude in the religious development of the world. It will usher in an era of peace in place of the terrible strife of the past, for the religion it will represent will be grounded in love. Toleration will prevail, or rather liberty and justice, for the Golden Rule will be a living rule of conduct.

The one dark shadow which Christianity has cast over the world is found rooted in the spirit of dogmatic bigotry, which led sincere men to fancy they were carrying out God's command when persecuting all who failed to see the truth from their point of view. This curse of creed and dogma which has blighted all theology dependent on *belief* rather than *conduct*, is directly responsible for the frightful persecutions of the past, which racked, tortured, burned, and buried alive men, women, and children. The most sincere men, acting under a belief that they were doing the will of a God who had prepared an everlasting furnace for his own children, often became the most savage and remorseless persecutors. Indeed, this baleful spirit of intolerance has destroyed love, awakened the tiger in man, and proved the supreme curse of Christian civilization. It compelled Calvin to flee from France for his life, and in turn led Calvin to compass the death of Servetus. It drove the Pilgrims from England, and in turn led them to banish Roger Williams. It is to-day prompting inhuman and savage persecutions of the Seventh Day Adventists in Tennessee and Maryland. It has been this baleful spirit of intolerance and persecution which has driven scores of the noblest and most humane souls of the Christian centuries into atheism. They were horrified at the savagery of the religious enthusiasts. They loved their fellow-men too much to be able to worship a Deity of wrath.

But with the higher conceptions of God which the new thought is ushering in, the spirit of persecution will disappear, and though various forms and beliefs may remain, the conditions will be much as More foreshadowed them in "Utopia." Liberty and fraternity will prevail, because men's conception of God will be higher and more human, and following upon this more exalted and divine religion will come a gradual union in spirit of all who earnestly seek the truth, and the creed of mankind will be, "The world is my country and to do good my religion."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

ALBERT BRISBANE: A MENTAL BIOGRAPHY.*

I.

THE fine portrait of the late Albert Brisbane which appears opposite page 48 in "A Mental Biography" suggests in a striking manner the well-known face of Ralph Waldo Emerson. There are the same unmistakable signs of intellectual strength, rendered radiant by a loving, philanthropic heart, which made the face of the Sage of Concord so attractive. And, indeed, Albert Brisbane in many respects resembled Emerson, as the reader who follows the brilliant and engaging chapters of "A Mental Biography" will soon discern. Both men were philosophers and dreamers. Emerson lacked the reformatory spirit which was characteristic of Mr. Brisbane. The former found peace and pleasure in the beauties of nature. The latter sought the seething centre of civilized life in order to find some thought which might ameliorate the suffering around him; and as for rest, he found that in music, art, and travel.

But Mr. Brisbane, while fired with a lofty enthusiasm for humanity, and greatly moved by the suffering of his fellow-men, lacked the self-assertion of a leader. This was most unfortunate, as with this characteristic coupled with his strong mentality, and fired with the enthusiasm of an unselfish reformer, he would have left an indelible impress on the thought of our age. We occasionally come in contact with great souls who as counsellors would prove a tower of strength in epoch-marking reforms, but who are wholly unfit, owing to diffidence, to lead the movements, and who, lacking this qualification, frequently go through life accomplishing little. When man becomes less selfish, and more illumined with wisdom, bands and associations will be formed for pushing on great reformatory work, in which philosophers and dreamers like Mr. Brisbane, who shrink from personal aggrandizement or leadership, will be aided by those who, while possessing less originality of thought and breadth of vision, are naturally leaders; and through such organizations far-reaching progressive movements will be accomplished.

Mr. Brisbane was pre-eminently a dreamer; his mind was philosophic; he dwelt in the pure atmosphere of lofty thoughts. His dearest companionships were the noblest ideals which float before advancing civilization. He belonged to the small and select *coterie* who are sent into the world before humanity is ready to receive them, and who ever yearn for a fatherland where a broader life and more real altruism prevail. They may be called earth's exiles, who ever hunger for the air and har-

* "Albert Brisbane; A Mental Biography, with a Character Study." By his wife, Redelia Brisbane. Cloth; pp. 278; two portraits; price, \$2. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

mony of heaven. And, indeed, it is to these souls who have lived in the altitude of a lofty ideality, who have beheld visions of higher attainment, of purer life, of deeper love, of grander achievements, and who have related these dreams to the children of men, that the world is largely indebted for its present development. They have lived in all ages, always far in advance of their times, and from their eminence have signalled the millions below. They have taught men to comprehend love. They have tried to spell out the meaning of God. They have pointed to the stars. Often they have been reviled; not infrequently they have been persecuted and exiled. Sometimes they have been slain; but before they went, the seed sown and truths lived had influenced other souls, the ideals they had discerned at length became living realities in millions of lives. Such are earth's dreamers, philosophers, and seers. Such, in a very real sense, was Albert Brisbane.

II.

Very charming is the sympathetic character study of Mr. Brisbane given by his gifted wife, and from it we are prepared for the unique and in every way delightful "Mental Biography" which follows. It is owing to this lady's untiring effort that we have this engaging and thought-stimulating work. For though Mr. Brisbane was one of the first orators of his day, and under the inspiration given by an audience reached flights of eloquence rarely equalled in our time, he shrank from obtruding his personality upon the world, and seemed disinclined to contribute to the permanent thought of his time by writing extensively on the varied themes he had made the subject of deep research. Some idea of the method pursued by Mrs. Brisbane to collect the material for this book is given in the following lines taken from the character study of her husband, which forms the introduction to the volume:—

As little by little I learned the details of his remarkable life — discovered more and more the wealth of his inexhaustible mind, I became possessed with a desire to realize him. I begged him to write his life. But his answers were always the same: "My life is of little consequence. The individual is nothing except so far as he has done something of universal value. If I can give to the world a METHOD OF STUDY — one of its greatest wants to-day — I shall live in that. Otherwise of what consequence can I be to posterity?" Nevertheless I wanted the life's history, and set about getting it as best I could. In order to reconcile the feelings of both, I proposed to take the facts he should give me and weave them into an impersonal story, giving the simple picture of a soul's aspirations and ultimate achievement. Thousands there were, I felt sure, just as hungry in the spiritual realm as I had been before meeting Mr. Brisbane, who would greet such a work with thanksgiving. . . . By frequent returns to the subject, and urgings on my part, presenting my plan to write an impersonal story, I got Mr. Brisbane to consent to dictate his life. . . . I have spoken of the recommencing of literary work in Paris. Never, from the beginning, had I relinquished my idea of the biography; in fact we talked of it so often that during periods of separation my correspondent would refer to it in his letters, telling me how a biography should be written, what should be its object, its leading trains of thought, etc., always insisting that it should not deal with personality, but with principles.

Finally, in 1886, I persuaded him to try dictation once more. It was not that I lacked material — simple data I had long possessed in abundance. What I wanted was

his form of expression, than which nothing could be happier or more to the point when given spontaneously. But how overcome the difficulties of dictation? how make him forget the fact that each word was being photographed as it fell from his lips? The undertaking was not very promising, certainly, but my subject lent himself to the experiment with the best of grace.

We were then living opposite the Luxembourg Garden, and I conceived the idea of doing our work there, amid the trees and flowers, and in the inspiring atmosphere of early summer. It was June — that month so full of promise and beauty everywhere, particularly in Paris; and in that garden surrounding the old Medici Palace — one of the most charming spots in the French capital.

Thus it was that every morning, with table, chairs, and writing material, we would install ourselves in some retired nook for our garden talk, the stenographer effacing himself as much as possible in the shade of a leafy bower, while our modern peripatetic paced to and fro — I questioning now and then to suggest, and draw him out. . . .

In the fall Mr. Brisbane was suddenly called home on business. In the meantime I set about putting my manuscript into shape. Occasionally I would come across obscure or faulty passages, of which I would write to him and ask for corrections.

Of the ease with which Mr. Brisbane expressed his thought under circumstances anything but favorable to composition, an example is given below in the prose poem, "Cosmic Aspiration," prefaced by a description of the circumstances connected with its production:—

As an illustration of the readiness and correctness with which he was able to speak at all times, I have a poem (probably the only poetic attempt he ever made), dictated to me on a railroad train between Washington and New York.

On the eve of leaving Washington, Walt Whitman had given us his poem, "To India," and I had undertaken to while away the hours of the journey by reading it aloud. I had been reading twenty minutes, perhaps, when Mr. Brisbane remarked, "I could write as good poetry as that." "If you would like to dictate, I have paper and pencil with me," I rejoined, closing the book and looking up. Seeing that I took in earnest an only half-serious observation, he said, "Well, if you choose, we might try," and beginning without the least hesitation, he spoke and I wrote continuously to the end. We then read it over together, and he pronounced it not bad for a first attempt.

This poem I called "A Cosmic Aspiration" and laid away. He forgot it entirely.

A COSMIC ASPIRATION.

My spirit goes out unto the future
With a redeemed and regenerated race!
My joy and my ambition are with this humanity
To which I belong.

I love it as a brother, as a lover, as a leader
And a child — with whom I have worked my way up,
During an infinite past, from the lowest depths
Of spiritual being.

I feel with it a solidarity, a unity, where
Not only all hope of individual achievement,
But all hope of Cosmic and Divine unity
Are blended.

I love it as a part of the Universal Spirit,
Working and studying and loving with which
I hope finally to attain to the knowledge and love
And wisdom of that Infinite Spiritual perfection,
That centre of all thought and love, which
Men call God.

I have worked with my race on the wet soil
Of the Nile; I have worked with it in the
Dry basins of the Tigris and the Euphrates;
I have wandered with it through the Phrygian Mountains;
With it I have peopled the shores of beautiful Ionia;
With it I have built at Dodona, temples
To the invisible Zeus.

I have sympathized with Socrates and Plato,
I was with Christ at Calvary, and with St. Paul in his wanderings;
I was with the blue-eyed Aryans — the Teutonic race,
When they laid the foundation of the Civilization
Which is to redeem our humanity.

I have been with my race in its great struggles:
I was with it in its crude and miserable states
When, through the ages, it elaborated and prepared
The elements of social life in the present;
I shall be with it in its future Glories,
When it shall be one of the Counsellors
Of the Spiritual Powers that distribute and arrange
The Harmonies of the Universe.

III.

Some conception of what the author had in view in compiling "A Mental Biography" will be gathered from the following thought with which the work opens:—

There are in man three orders of life. There is the life of the senses, which place him in the material world and constitute the basis of his real practical life; there is the life of the sentiments, which, incorporating themselves objectively, lead to all the social relations which human beings establish with one another; and there is the life of the intellect, which associates man with the plan and order of the universe and all the subjects relating thereto. The first two orders are personal. They but indirectly, or as subjects of curiosity, interest the world at large; whereas the life of the intellect belongs to humanity. This last is the only part of my life that seems to me worth reciting. I would write the story of a mind seeking to solve some of those great problems which have occupied the intuitions and the intellect of humanity ever since the beginning of stable history.

In the course of my researches I have had occasion to study a multitude of theories, to come in contact with a multitude of minds, to mix with men in different nations; and it is possible that among the leaders of modern thought the experience through which I have passed, being in a certain sense exceptional, may have some value.

In the subsequent pages we have unfolded before us a brilliant panorama of life in action and repose. Germany, Austria, Constantinople, Greece, and Italy are revealed in rapid succession. And here, too, we meet many of the most eminent thinkers and leading actors in the great events of the past half-century. With rapid strokes the author gives scenes of historic importance, pen pictures of men who have shaped the thoughts of millions of lives, and events that heralded changes which are now in progress. Social questions are discussed in a philosophical manner. The past, the present, and the future are scanned. Politics, history, economic problems, and science are in turn examined, and the work is especially valuable in that it suggests so

much. No subject is exhausted, nor does the interest of the reader ever flag. It is as though you were in the midst of a sparkling *coterie* in a brilliantly lighted saloon, and being entertained by a man of commanding intelligence, of extensive travel and association with men and objects of interest, and who possessed the power of a brilliant conversationalist in a rare degree.

This book will charm its readers. It can be opened at any page and read from paragraph to paragraph with pleasure, even though no earlier pages have been perused. And yet it is not wanting in unity. Many of the pen pictures of eminent men are very delightful. Here are a few words about Mendelssohn:—

Another important circle into which I was introduced was that of the Jewish bankers. . . . Here I met Felix Mendelssohn, whose spiritual, sympathetic face often seemed luminous with the genius that was soon to make his fame world-wide. He was a frail young man with a physique far too delicate to resist the great tax put upon it by his fiery, never-resting soul. As is usual with musical prodigies, he had manifested his capacity at an early age. When scarcely eight years old, he would gather about him his playmates and organize a miniature orchestra. When I met him he was just beginning to be known abroad; it was in that year that he first went to England, where he was received with such flattering enthusiasm. And yet, I remember, in conversations on the subject, that he would sometimes express to me doubts as to whether he would ever do anything great.

Later he met Mendelssohn in Rome, and thus portrays his second meeting:—

Felix Mendelssohn was my companion part of the time in Rome. In one of his published letters from there, I believe, he speaks of our running out into the street together on hearing the report of the cannon which announced the election of the Pope at the conclave of the cardinals. We joined the excited crowd, and ran as far as the Vatican. Mendelssohn had come to the Eternal City to study its art, familiarize himself with its classic spirit, and prepare for what proved to be his great musical creations. He himself, in his highstrung — I might say overstrung — nervous irritability, was a most interesting study to me, who, but a few months his junior, had no consciousness of nerves. His sensitive organization, alive to every discordant note in the physical world (and they are legion), made him a martyr, often, where the ordinary mortal would remain insensible. I recall a vehement and characteristically German expression of his on one occasion as we passed the *Lepri* — a restaurant much frequented by his compatriots in Rome. I had proposed that we should take our dinner there. Glancing in with evident disgust, he turned away, exclaiming, "*Nein! Ich will nicht in den tausigen Platz gehen.*" Poor Mendelssohn! His delicately strung body foreshadowed but too well his short career."

The description of Hegel, under whom Mr. Brisbane studied in Berlin, is striking and interesting. So also are the pen pictures of Heine, who had not then attained any great eminence, Frœbel, and the great European social reformers, Fourier, Karl Marx, and Proudhon. Mr. Brisbane studied under the first named, and gives a brilliant outline of Fourierism. He was intimately acquainted with Marx and Proudhon. Their appearance, methods of thought, and ideas are also briefly sketched, with the clearness which characterizes Mr. Brisbane's work. Among other eminent persons whom he met, and who are described, are Eugene Sue, Balzac, Victor Hugo, and the great actress, Rachel.

His portrayals are very vivid, and he possessed the rare power of condensing a great many important thoughts in a few words. This makes his outlines of social, philosophical, and scientific themes specially valuable. His descriptive powers were also very fine. Here is a mental photograph taken from the delightful pages given to Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire:—

The first impression made upon me here was the magnificence of the situation of Constantinople. I caught a glimpse of it when crossing the Golden Horn; the panorama grew and extended as I ascended the hillside of Pera. Standing on this height, facing the southeast, I had on my left the Bosphorus, that unique river of salt water, flowing southward in its broad course to the Sea of Marmora. To the south lay Constantinople proper—ancient Istamboul, spread out over its seven classic hills; and still beyond, across the sparkling, sunlit river, Scutari, with its gay kiosks and its majestic background of giant mountains. At my feet was the Golden Horn, curling along in its northwesterly course of four miles to join the heights on either side which form that vast amphitheatre which strikes the fresh beholder with such bewildering emotions. A clear blue sky overhead and a pleasant north breeze, blowing almost constantly at that time of the year, completed this scene—probably the grandest piece of landscape beauty that exists upon this earth. If constructive organic principles underlie combination and arrangement in nature, here is a grand manifestation of organic art and wisdom somewhere.

Here is an example of our author's philosophical musings. He has previously compared the Indian, with whom he was well acquainted in his youth, with the Turk of whom he was then writing—two extremes in man's estate bounding the seething ocean of Europe's and America's civilizations—after which he observes:—

I said to myself: The civilizations of America and Europe are the same; they are both filled with misery, with social discord, vice, crime, and brutality; and I then came to the conclusion that the republic of the New World was not the last word of the race in social progress. Before me on the one hand stood the simple, passive, torpid Indian; on the other, the slothful, worn-out, dead Turk; between the two this gigantic, restless modern world—seething, striving, battling, incoherent; producing on the surface wealth and show and privileges, while at the bottom reigned poverty, drunkenness, degradation, vice, crime, prisons, almshouses, work-houses, and all the complex antagonisms of cliques and parties and sects.

The frightful spectacle rose before me like a social hell. The one redeeming feature in this great world stripped of its illusions was the influence of woman. I saw that the elegantly furnished apartments of Europe and America, the carpets, the lace window curtains, the thousand refinements of our interior domestic life, were due to the respect of man for woman; that the free intercourse of the sexes imposed upon man courtesy and refinement of manners, cleanliness and elegance in dress; that the social equality of the sexes aroused the sentiment of gallantry, delicacy, and the whole system of etiquette which comes from the influence of a grand sentiment in the soul. It is the love of woman which has embellished and refined our material life.

Boy that I was, I felt profoundly at that time the influence of woman as one of the great levers in lifting man out of pure materialism into the higher life of the spirit. I became so interested in her condition, and the absence of her influence in Turkey, that I went to studying the question of the liberty of woman, and analyzing the different phases of her social status. Among the savages of the forest I saw her a mere drudge, looked upon as a useful domestic animal; in our civilized societies I saw her a part of man's ambition, an object of pride together with his elegant home and equipages, a being regarded with admiration, but none the less dependent, without real equality and liberty of action. I realized that under the best conditions she was

only the elegant directress, the artistic manager of the home of the rich man. In Turkey I saw her a piece of property, a thing owned and held by man for purely sensual purposes; passive, ignorant, stultified by the selfish policy of the male sex, debarring her of all liberty and all external life.

A faint vision of woman in the future flitted before my mind — woman independent, active, following the untrammelled promptings of her own intuitions. And in this connection certain reflections of my mother came to my mind. She had felt the servitude of woman in the isolated household — the subordination imposed by the fact that man is the sole producer, the sole owner of wealth, and that it is to him she must look for the means necessary to her physical existence, and which, in spite of any goodness on the part of man, keeps her in subjection to him. I understood now the meaning of certain expressions from her lips which had fallen upon a heedless ear years before. Her words came back to me: "Had I followed a career of my own, I should have had millions: I should have realized my own desires and have seen the world. I have wasted my life in this little village, taking care of you and your brother." . . .

I conceived very clearly the liberty and independence of woman; I saw that her educational development and moral elevation were primary conditions of social progress in almost every direction; that the free association of men and women led to refinement, the desire to please, and also to an effort on the part of man to elevate himself intellectually and spiritually. I saw that personal cleanliness even, and good taste in dressing, depended on the influence of woman — as I observed the dirty, neglectful Turk sitting in his doorway until darkness came over him, and then crawling into his house to bed. I traced this absence of feminine influence into their industry, into all the departments of their life. In their miserable, scantily furnished houses were none of the luxuries of Christian dwellings; the thousand and one æsthetic wants of our Western civilization were conspicuous in Turkey by their absence — hence no call for the industries that supply them. In a word, the undeveloped, secluded, servile condition of woman produced a dead, stale blank in the whole life of the Turk.

There is no grandeur for man but in the elevation of woman. When he drags her down and crushes her, he crushes and brutalizes himself; for it seems an incontrovertible law that he who would become a tyrant becomes himself a slave.

Space forbids more extended quotations; and yet these but imperfectly mirror the merit of the work. Perhaps the most valuable chapters are those which deal with social problems. Among them we have a brilliant criticism of Fourierism, the system with which our author was so intimately connected in its practical working both in Europe and America. The discussion of currency and other live problems of our day makes the work specially interesting to reformers. But it must not be supposed that Europe and European thought engross all the pages of this remarkable book. John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, Theodore Parker, Daniel Webster, Caleb Cushing, Clay, Douglas, Seward, Benton, Phillips, Garrison, and other colossal figures of the past half-century pass in rapid succession before our vision. Of John C. Calhoun our author has much to say. I have space only for a few lines in regard to the mental make-up of the great statesman and a prophecy he made: —

Calhoun was of Irish descent, which explains in part his wiry temperament and his intellectual intensity. He was tall and slender, with the most powerful eye I ever saw; it was the eye of a wolf in the intellectual sphere seeking ravenously to devour or destroy every idea opposed to his own. The prominent nose and firm chin gave a strong physiognomical foundation to this powerful eye, but the forehead was not large.

I may now say that the prophecy of Calhoun regarding the dissolving movement of the great democracy of the North is being verified by the socialist movement of to-day. What he foresaw then is coming about. Labor and capital are arrayed against each

other, and a battle is imminent which will shake society to its very foundation, and in the end destroy the old economic system, causing a reconstruction on new principles. Calhoun looked forward to this social conflict with fear, but it will turn out to be a beneficent necessity; for if men have not the intelligence and philanthropy to establish justice on the earth, then it must come through blind intuition, through any means by which it can be accomplished — even revolutionary.

Chapters are given to a philosophical examination of the phenomena of modern spiritualism, during which the author traces psychical phenomena through history, the oracles, religious ecstasy, the dual character of the psychical man, spiritual organism, and the spontaneous action of the soul. Beethoven and Mozart are also spoken of, with other subjects. Other interesting chapters deal with astronomy and geology.

This is a book for general reading. Young and old will be entertained. It will awaken many trains of thought and lead inquiring truth-seekers into many vistas of research. It acquaints one with the vital thought and many of the most important events of the past half-century by giving vivid, permanent impressions. It is a work which will not disappoint the reader, and should be found in all well ordered libraries.

B. O. FLOWER.

A WEDDING TANGLE.*

There is a refreshing directness in the method with which Miss Sparhawk always addresses her reader. There is evidently no thought in her mind of any of the various views of presenting fact in vogue at the present day — she is neither a realist nor an idealist. She never pauses for literary effect; she is not conscious of deepening her shadows or heightening her lights; she never poses, nor asks your admiration of her penetration, her subtlety, her wit; she has a story to tell, and she tells it in the swiftest and most straightforward way, entirely forgetting herself, and in all moments completely natural. It is something of the charm of the old writers, of Bunyan, of De Foe, with a certain sweet femininity added, that you find in all she writes; and in the "Wedding Tangle" there is, moreover, as befits a story of its time, a quaint, old-fashioned air that is very pleasing. The quality of directness is nowhere more apparent in her work than in this story of "A Wedding Tangle," just issued by the Arena Company. It is a historical novel, bringing to light again a period which few persons are better fitted to handle, it would seem, when one considers all the tradition that must have come to the writer through the long and wide connection of her family with other old colonial families, so that she had to draw not so much on imagination as on memory, especially so in peopling her pages with Royals, Pepperrells, and Sparhawks, who were virtually all one family.

The time of the novel is that of the great French and Indian war. The incidents are not more romantic or remarkable than those which are known to have been of frequent occurrence in that day of adventure

* "A Wedding Tangle." By Frances Campbell Sparhawk. Pp. 241; paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.25. Published by Arena Publishing Company.

in a new world. The state and splendor and patrician manners of the province are rendered with an accuracy that gives the atmosphere of an old Copley or Smibert painting. The discrimination of character is so fine as to add complete *vraisemblance* to the recital. The wealth and beauty of the colony, the travelling noble, the adventurer, move like living beings. The dialogue is animated and to the point, although the author has indicated rather than set down too closely for modern ears the archaisms of speech belonging to the era.

The heroines are wonderfully well contrasted — Elizabeth Royal, and the Mistress Archdale who is set before us with bright brown hair which "would have gleamed in the sunlight without the gold dust it was powdered with. Her complexion, one of Titian's warm blondes, was at its perfection; her eyes were grave enough for steady expression, and at times for a touch of pathos; it was at the sudden curving of her lips that they filled with light which was gone instantly, making the beholder feel that the sunshine had flashed over her face." The hero, Archdale, is an aid of Pepperrell's in the great achievement of the taking of Louisburg, which was the critical point in the fate of New England — since the failure of the expedition would have meant, as the author says, that New England should be French and Jesuit, and its success meant liberty of will and conscience and the extension of Saxon civilization; and which was, indeed, the turning-point also of the fortunes of all the colonies, for success taught the colonists that without assistance they could encounter regulars and overcome them, and gave them the courage to undertake, but a little later, the great struggle of the Revolution. Says the author: —

Pepperrell saw the forests to be hewn, the fields to be reclaimed from the wilderness, the cities yet unbuilt. He saw the life great, although half its greatness was not dreamed of, that was to pour in through this gate which to-day's work was to open. For not only that fear and hatred of popery which marked his age, but already that American love of liberty, burned within him. A touch of Winkelried's fervor kindled his eye. If in his breast, and his comrades', the bayonets of the enemy were to be planted, yet a way should be made for his countrymen.

It will be seen that a more picturesque, a more weighty epoch of our history could not have been chosen; and upon its foundation a romance full of plot and excitement is thrown into strong relief. There is much descriptive power shown in the course of the narrative, as in the opening picture of the lovely Piscataqua harbor, of the stately old gardens of Seascape, Archdale's place.

When Archdale and his friends reached Seascape, the summer clouds that floated over the ocean were beginning to glow with the warmth of coming sunset. The sea lay so tranquil that the plash of the waves on the pebbly shore sounded like the rhythmic accompaniment to the beautiful vision of earth and sky, and the boom of the water against the cliffs beyond came now and then, accentuating this like the beat of a heavy drum, muffled or distant.

But this descriptive power is always used with restraint, whether in the portraying of beautiful women, or in the account of *sortie* and repulse, the night attack on impregnable batteries, the crowning hour

of the storm, at sea, or the cannonade where suddenly light came through the dark folds against which Elizabeth, on the schooner's deck, had been pressing her eyes.

To her there was a sound as if the heavens were being rent, and she felt a trembling of the earth, as if it shook with terror at the spectacle. She stood a moment bewildered. It seemed as if the light never paled at all, but only changed its place sometimes; the roar was terrific; it never ceased or lulled, and the water beneath them tossed and hissed in rage at its bed being so shaken. Then she sat down again with her face towards the city, and watched this cannonade, terrible to men grown gray in the service, as officers from the fleet bore witness, and to the enemy deadly. For the *fascine* battery had opened fire.

Although "A Wedding Tangle" is very different from "A Chronicle of Conquest," and from "Onoqua" and the other forceful stories in which Miss Sparhawk has summoned all her skill to the aid of the Indian, it is quite as powerful as they; it is full of suggestion, with many a scene of passion and pathos, and is a book at once bright and wholesome, and, for all its simplicity, of enchaining interest.

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD.

WOMAN, CHURCH, AND STATE.*

I.

There are certain books that, once read, can never be forgotten. Sometimes it is the manner of statement which fixes them indelibly in the mind. More often it is the matter. In this book it is both style and substance which give at once a shock of surprise, an impulse of rebellion, and a sense of finality to the subject, from which an earnest reader cannot easily escape.

To those who have had a lingering doubt in their minds as to the truth of the oft-repeated statement that it is to religion—in our country people usually say to Christianity—that woman owes all that is best in her life, this book will be, indeed, a never-to-be-forgotten revelation. To one who had long ago recognized that particular bit of fiction as a cruel hindrance and about the most vicious of all impediments in the path of woman toward a dignified recognition in the human scale, it is still one of the most welcome and conclusive books ever written.

I had read parts of this book—now issued in a volume for the first time—some years ago, and I quoted from and referred to it in the first book I ever printed, "Men, Women, and Gods." At that time I hoped and believed that "Woman, Church, and State" would be published very soon after my own book in which I spoke of it. As a result of the references, I received numerous inquiries for it. At different times publishers wrote to me to know where it could be had, since their customers were anxious to get it—and still the book did not appear. At last we have it, and it justifies the long delay during which the research which its completion required has been prosecuted, to the end

* "Woman, Church, and State." By Matilda Joselyn Gage. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

that no sane person need ever again claim for Christianity a lofty place in the elevation of woman.

All religions of which we have record have been made by men, and believed by women to their own degradation and disadvantage. The less "orthodox" the religion, the better and more honorable has it become for woman. This is plain to any reasonably thorough student of Lecky, Buckle, Mosheim, and other able writers on these and kindred topics. Some of us have had many of the isolated facts, which are here for the first time so ably marshalled for ready and overwhelming reference, duly stowed away in our note-books and brains, but nowhere before has so completely confounding an array been put under one cover—nowhere. It is done, too, with the skill and philosophic firmness of one who sees clearly behind the flimsy pretence of intrenched power, and who, seeing, dares oppose.

Many persons can make—have made—flighty assertions in this direction. A few have given reasons and data that were sound and facts that were well attested; fewer yet have based able arguments upon these facts; but it has remained for Mrs. Gage to collect, arrange, and present material that, were it not so ably done, would stagger the reader by its very abundance of proof, as well as by the infamy it reveals. Had she taken as a sub-title for her book, "A Story of Infamous Outrage," the facts in the book would have borne out both titles; for the history of woman in church and state has been little else than this. Her religious emotions have ever been played upon to keep her submissive in the state, and her subject status in the state has rendered her the ready and self-abnegating religious dupe that she has always been.

I have never seen a thoroughly ignorant man nor an especially brutal one who did not believe, with all his soul, that this order of things was right and of "divine" origin. Such a one unhesitatingly believes that he does and should stand for more in the economy of the world than should the most gifted woman who ever lived. A good many of the ablest men of the world have doubted and do doubt this, seriously, for themselves in particular and for all men in general. They have so stated and so written. But it is one of the pitiful facts of life that even these great men have seldom been great enough to make a bold, steady, fair and persistent fight against political, social, legal, and religious injustice toward woman, though they may and do fight any one or all of these, with passion and with power, where such points of injustice have touched classes or castes of their fellow-men. The sentiment,

"Make way for liberty!" he cried;
Made way for liberty, and died!

with all its class, type, and ilk, contemplates liberty as applied to man only. The time for some one to make way for liberty for woman has come. The kind which was fought for by man was not large enough to go around. It was a close fit on his own brain—and perhaps for that very reason we should not be surprised that he throws

upon woman's shoulders the task of freeing herself from the laws and religions he has made and trained her to believe came from a God. It looks like a rather cowardly process; but perhaps it is well enough for woman to have to struggle out from under these fictitious barriers to her elevation which he has put up, without much help from him. It will make her more sure of her footing.

Mrs. Gage's book will help both men and women to see all this clearly. It is a book which should be in every reference library. No public library in the country should be without it, and I hope that the men and women of every town where there is a public library will persist in asking for it until it is so placed. Then I hope you will ask each other, "Have you read, 'Woman, Church, and State'?" in place of "Isn't it hot?" or "Shall you go to the Fair?" Take it as a stock question, so to speak. Persist in it, until everybody who is capable of comprehending, even in a limited degree, the importance of such a book, exclaims to you even when you are afar off, "I have read it! I have, indeed!" and not until then should you let him depart in peace.

Be assured that it is not a dull book nor heavy reading. The matter is interesting and vastly important, and the style is easy, attractive, dignified, and simple. No theological student or clergyman can afford to be without it. It should stand beside his "Evidences" and be as carefully studied. If he has not read it he will not be sufficiently well informed to preach to the women of this and the coming decade — and if he has read it, it will assure him a large attendance at services when he explains it away. I think I would be willing to go to church a number of times myself to hear that — particularly if a reply to the explanation were permitted.

Had I time and space to go into detail here, or to give some of the pages of this able book, you would hold your breath in dismay. Since I may not do that, get it. Make your public library do the same. Read it. Urge others to follow your example. It will pay you. You cannot afford not to.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

II.

This is a remarkable book. Mrs. Gage has long been known as a careful and thorough student of history in the direction of what bears upon woman, and her position in state and church. The work gives evidence of extensive research. To the reader interested in human evolution and whose heart is alive to the need of better conditions for race advancement, this book will open up new vistas for thoughtful contemplation. To all women and men who are quickened by the spirit now moving the intelligent womanhood of Christendom, not only, but of all peoples on the globe, it will be full of suggestiveness. To those women who have long been wrestling with the problem how and why the claim of inferiority and the subjected position of woman has obtained, it will be an electric light upon a clearly-sketched panorama of past and present.

The picture is by no means a pleasant one. The facts it depicts do not present a charming aspect of human nature. Painful, however, as its contemplation must be to a sympathetic soul, it can but be considered with absorbing interest. That the erroneous theology which assigns to woman a subordinate position because of her inferiority as a product of creative wisdom, is the root cause of the injustice, oppression, and all the atrocious treatment to which woman has been subjected during the Christian era, is the affirmation running through its entire structure.

The ten chapters are under the heads: 1. The Matriarchate—2. Celibacy—3. Canon Law—4. Marquette—5. Witchcraft—6. Wives—7. Polygamy—8. Woman and Work—9. The Church of To-day—10. Past, Present, and Future.

The chapter on "The Matriarchate" is intensely interesting. Having briefly referred to the discoveries during the past fifty years of ancient literature and lost civilizations, the author says:—

These records prove that woman had acquired great liberty under the old civilizations. A form of society existed at an early age known as the Matriarchate or mother-rule. The child bore its mother's name, tracing its descent from her; her authority over it was regarded as in accord with nature. The son, as child of his mother, ranked the father, the mother taking precedence over both the father and son.

Every part of the world to-day gives evidence of the system; reminiscences of the Matriarchate everywhere abound. Livingstone found African tribes swearing by the mother, and tracing descent through her. Marco Polo discovered similar customs in his Asiatic voyages, and the same customs are extant among the Indians of our own continent. The second step in family life took place when the father, dropping his own name, took that of his child. Under the Matriarchate, monogamy was the rule; neither polyandry nor promiscuity existed.

Historians agree as to the high civilization even to-day of those nations or tribes still preserving traces of matriarchal customs. Even under its most degenerate form, the family, governmental, and religious rights of women are more fully recognized than under any phase of Christian civilization. In the old Aryan Scriptures the right of woman to hold property, and to her children, was much more fully recognized than under the Christian codes of to-day. From the highest to the most humble priestly office, women officiated in Egypt.

Crimes against women were rare in Egypt, and when occurring were most severely punished. *Rameses III.* caused this inscription to be engraved upon his monuments: "To unprotected woman there is freedom to wander through the whole country whosoever she lists, without apprehending danger."

The whole ancient world recognized a female priesthood—some peoples, like the Roman, making national safety dependent upon their ministrations; others, as in Egypt, according them pre-eminence in the priestly office, reverencing goddesses as superior to gods; still others, as the Scandinavians, making no distinction in equality between gods and goddesses; others governing the nation's course through oracles which fell from feminine lips. Those historians anxious to give most credit to the humanizing effect of Christianity upon woman are compelled to admit her superiority among pagan nations before the advent of this religion.

The theory of a male supreme god in the interests of force and authority, wars, family discord, the sacrifice of children to appease the wrath of an offended (male) deity, are all due to the Patriarchate. During the Matriarchate all life was regarded as holy; even the sacrifice of animals was unknown. Both infanticide and prostitution with all their attendant horrors are traceable, with polygamy—their origin—to the Patriarchate or father-rule, under which Judaism and Christianity rose as forms of religious belief.

The history of the establishment of celibacy for priests and the increased degradation that followed to women, both as wives and under the system of concubinage, which was not only permitted to the priests, but enforced as it were by a concubinage tax, compulsory on all priests, whether they were chaste, married, or practised concubinage—will be a shocking revelation to those who are unfamiliar with church history. Celibacy was established as a church dogma in 1215. A quotation from a Toronto paper of September, 1892, shows that the scandalous proceedings of priests, which in the thirteenth century and down to the seventeenth century called for papal bulls against priestly lechery, have not yet disappeared. The "heroic form of purity," which Archbishop Ireland affirms to be essential to Christian life, has not yet become a special characteristic of celibate priesthood.

The third chapter shows that the subjugation of woman by mankind was the result of the adoption by the state of Christianity as a religion, and that civil law which has subordinated woman in personal and property rights was based on the canon law of ecclesiasticism.

Despite the guarantee of the Runnymede charter, and the religious rebellion of the eighth Henry, despite the vigor of Elizabeth, who "bent both priest and prelate to her fiery will," the influence of this period moved down in line with the Reformation, and to the injury of woman successfully incorporated its worst features into the common law; the new church, social, and family life all partaking of this injustice.

The Reformation did not change the condition of woman under both ecclesiastical and civil law, which placed her property, her person, her time and services entirely at her husband's disposal. This idea still remains in practice, as evidenced by the decision of the judge in the Court of Appeals in New York two years ago, in the case of Heriorg Blachinska, who had sued the city for damages for injuries:—

Such services as she [the wife] renders him [the husband], whether within or without the strict line of her duty, belong to him, and if he pays her for them, it is a gift.

The chapter on "Marquette" will be read with astonishment if not with sickening horror. The recent disclosures of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and exposures of the horrible crimes against women in the pineries of Wisconsin, forbid the verdict of "impossible."

To persons not conversant with the history of feudalism and the church it will seem impossible that such foulness could ever have been a part of Christian civilization. That the vices they have been taught to consider the outgrowth of paganism and the worst heathendom could have existed in Christian Europe, upheld many hundred years by both church and state, will strike most people with incredulity.

Except that the more recent history of witchcraft and the crimes committed against women as witches are familiar, it would also "strike people with incredulity" to read Chapter v.

Chapter vi. — "Wives" — does not add many bright shades or pleasing forms to the doleful picture. The legal status of the wife down to the present is not a happy commentary upon Christian civilization, as the following statement proves:—

A few years since, in Massachusetts, an action for cruelty on the part of a husband came before a court, the charge being that he came home one night in February, when

the thermometer was ten degrees below zero, and turned his wife and little child, with his wife's mother of eighty, out of the house. While his wife was giving testimony the judge interrupted, saying: "The husband had a right to do so; there was a quarrel between the husband and wife, and he had a legal right to turn her out and take possession of the house. That was not cruelty."

It is to the shame of Christian civilization in these United States that a man has been imprisoned for having allowed to be published in his paper a case of shocking outrage to the wife by the husband; and he is still under indictment for publishing a letter from a practising physician, stating similar disgraceful facts. Wifehood is not yet sufficiently honored or protected in Christian civilization to secure honor and gratitude to the champion of the right of woman as conjugal partner to the control of her person, her earnings and property, and the possession of her children, legally. The treatment of Moses Harman stamps with disgraceful barbarism the closing years of the nineteenth century.

In treating "Polygamy," "Woman and Work," and "The Church of To-day," Mrs. Gage has compiled facts well known to persons who have been informed during the past half-century. No thoughtful woman can read this book carefully without conviction of the responsibility of "the American woman" to maintain the battle for woman's complete deliverance. The woman whose improved condition is largely the result of our immortal Declaration of Independence, the recognition of equal human rights, ought to be the "woman who dares" to maintain this principle to its perfect fruition, the emancipation of soul from the rule of sex, and of statutes, dogmas, and canons based on sex superiority and domination.

A few years since a woman said to me that she did not think a woman ought to preach, or that it was pleasing to God that she should, *because the Saviour was a man!* Within a year I have heard a woman pronounce a woman preacher an "infidel" because she addressed her prayer to "Father and Mother God"! Such women should read Mrs. Gage's "Woman, Church, and State."

LUCINDA B. CHANDLER.

OLD ENGLISH DRAMATISTS.*

Two men struggled always in Lowell — the scholar, lost in his books and indifferent to any voice that urged him into the outer world of action; the other the literary man, seeking always higher and higher form of expression, and craving it as the necessity of his endowment and calling. Nowhere has this double quality been more apparent than in this little volume, perfect in its make-up, as the work of the Riverside Press is certain to be, and holding between its covers the lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute by Mr. Lowell in 1887. They were never revised for publication, had been rapidly written, and many of the references were read from the printed book in his hand; but they abound in such brilliant and telling criticism that the editor, Mr.

* "The Old English Dramatists." By James Russell Lowell. 16mo; pp. 132; price, \$1. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Charles Eliot Norton, sends them out with a certainty, not likely to be disappointed, that every lover of our dead poet will welcome this last addition to the list of his works. Marlowe, Webster, Chapman, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and Ford, — these, with an introductory lecture, make up the volume, alive with the quick wit, the sly humor, the delicate perception, and unfailing literary sense that distinguish all that Lowell has left us. He commends us to the elder dramatists as a well of English undefiled, and if one at times questions some phases of his admiration and belief, we at least need not question his conclusion. Shakespeare can never fail to serve as college for the man who can compass no other, and English poetry and English poets mean some of the noblest things the world of letters holds. Poetry is a necessity; but let it be virile, as well as spiritual — its grasp on both worlds, since both worlds are man's. No one felt this more acutely than Lowell, who at the end of the introductory lecture speaks words that ought to be graven on the brain of every teacher in the land: —

I have observed, and am sorry to have observed, that English poetry, at least in the older examples, is less read now than when I was young. I do not believe this to be a healthy symptom, for poetry frequents and keeps habitable those upper chambers of the mind that open towards the sun's rising. . . . Even our books for children have been growing more and more practical and realistic. The fairies are no longer permitted to print their rings on the tender sward of the child's fancy, and yet it is the child's fancy that sometimes lives obscurely on to minister unexpected solace to the lonelier and less sociable mind of the man. Our nature resents this, and seeks refuge in the holes and corners where coarser excitements may be had at dearer rates. I sometimes find myself thinking that if this hardening process should go much further, it is before us, and not behind, that we should look for the Age of Flint.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

RAILWAYS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.*

I have not had time to give this masterly work a personal review, but submit below the opinions of several persons whose long study of social problems and their loyalty to the interests of the wealth-producers entitle their views to weight and respect: —

I. HON. JOHN DAVIS, M. C.

I have carefully read the book you sent me. In my judgment, students of reform in railroad management and control, will welcome to their libraries this new work, "The Railways of Europe and America," by Mrs. Marion Todd. The author has evolved from "dry reports and musty documents" a fresh and interesting array of facts and statistics, so arranged that her readers may see at a glance the relative merits and defects of the railways of the different countries.

The argument so often advanced by the disciples of corporate control, that the incentive of great profit incident to private manage-

* "Railways of Europe and America, or Government Ownership, with Notes from Official Reports." By Marion Todd. Pp. 285; price, cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

ment is necessary to develop an economic and convenient railroad service, is refuted by facts and statistics from India, Germany, and Austro-Hungary, where railroads are operated and owned in large measure by the state. The book does not aim to present theories and draw conclusions, but to give facts; and it gives them in such a manner that the instruction that may be drawn as to the best policies of railroad management is limited only by the reader's ability to observe and think. The thoughtful reader can see at once that under government management of railroads, as in Germany, there is a direct saving to the people of two thirds of the cost of operation, a more efficient, satisfactory, and convenient service, and, better than all, a far less tragic waste of human life and muscle. The destruction of life among railroad employees of the United States, when compared with that of the railroads of other countries, is tremendous; and in no other country are laborers required to perform so much service, or work so long without rest, as are those on American railroads.

The system of charges for freights and tickets, and the collection of these charges in the European countries, not being framed with a view to extort "all the traffic will bear," but to accommodate the public, is far more convenient and just. The statistics give unequivocal evidence that under state control, rates are lowered and service is improved.

The extravagant and corrupt practices so common in the construction of American railroads, are thoroughly exposed; and also the costly and unfair practices of our courts in dealing with corporate questions. Mrs. Todd is a thorough student of her subject, and well abreast of the times in her discussions of railways. I am glad that the gifted author and the Arena Publishing Company have given to us this invaluable book. It should be in the hands of every student of the transportation question in America. It is a handy pocket companion for every public teacher on that subject.

JOHN DAVIS.

II. GENERAL JAMES G. FIELD OF VIRGINIA.

I have received and read with great interest this valuable publication. The book reflects great credit upon the ability and accuracy of its author, Mrs. Todd. The statistics show great labor and research, and all her statements are pertinent and practical. The book may be consulted with great benefit by our statesmen, financiers, and economists.

JAS. G. FIELD.

III. HON. IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

A very valuable book — just what is needed at this time, when so many are considering the question of state ownership of railroads. The facts it gives are very interesting and important; especially those which show that while railroad travel in the United States costs about three cents per mile, the same service, in countries where the government is the proprietor of the roads, is a fraction over one cent per mile! This is

one of the many evidences of the fact, which we are all willing to acknowledge, that we are the most intelligent people on earth!

Mrs. Todd had heretofore achieved a high reputation as an accomplished orator; but in this book she argues like a first-class lawyer, and reasons like a philosopher.

IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

VI. PAUL VAN DERVOORT.

I have carefully read the work by Mrs. Marion Todd, "The Railroads of Europe and America." It fills a niche in our literature that cannot be overestimated. I know something about its preparation. It involved searching hundreds of the official reports, and when the library of Congress and other sources of information in this country were exhausted, publications were obtained from the different countries in Europe, India, and Australia.

It is the most reliable and authentic work that has ever been prepared on this question. It is not only valuable for the orator and student in the People's Party, but should surely have a wide circulation among railroad employees of all grades. It will be of immense value to such in all branches of service. I desire to call the attention of any Union soldier who may read it, to the fact that the government voted to corporations enough land to give each one a land warrant, such as were issued to all previous soldiers in all our wars. In addition to depreciating their pay during the war, each was deprived of a farm, which government donated to the railroads, and in many cases they were forced off the land after they had settled thereon, as in the Knevals case and others.

I hope the book will have a large sale, and am glad the Arena Publishing Company has issued it. No agency has done more to enlighten and wake up the people than THE ARENA and the books issued by its company.

The services rendered by Mrs. Marion Todd entitle her to the gratitude of every true patriot. Her devoted loyalty to our cause, her enthusiasm, her standing as a refined lady and a true woman, commend her to all who know her. The library of no industrial legion will be complete without Mrs. Todd's books and THE ARENA publication.

PAUL VAN DERVOORT.

V. JOHN P. STELLE.

I have read Mrs. Todd's "Railroads in Europe and America" with unusual care. It is a masterly and timely production, one that must claim the attention of the thinking populace. As a text-book in the hands of public speakers it is complete and invaluable. I am glad that so gifted an author undertook the task of preparing it; she has done her work well. It is a fitting and valuable addition to the powerful books that have been issued by the Arena Publishing Company and for which a grateful public ought to be thankful.

Few are more directly interested in the transportation question than

the farmers. They must look to the railroads, riverways, and ocean thoroughfares, not only to take their surplus products to market, but to bring back supplies to them. And as they are the first to sell their own products and the last to buy the products they consume, they have no chance to place a profit on the one, and have not yet learned to do so on the other. Between the two, therefore, the farmer is made to bear both in and out charges. What these charges are, whether reasonable and just, is a question of great moment to him.

As railroad transportation has almost crowded out river traffic, the interest in the subject of transportation centres in the railroads; but until very recent years, notwithstanding its great importance to him, the farmer gave the subject but little thought. Indeed he had not much opportunity, if he had the inclination, to study the question. Long tables of mystifying figures, in the various official reports that found their way into the papers and public documents, were about all the railroad literature obtainable.

"Railroads in Europe and America," gives the figures, not in the dry, incomprehensible form of the average official report, but in such a way as neither to tire nor to mystify. The figures given (and they are derived from official sources in this country and Europe, and are reliable), will almost startle the thinking reader, and set those to thinking who never thought before.

There is no better way to study any question of this character than by comparison, and this is the plan adopted by Mrs. Todd. The railways of the world are brought under the student's eye, together with their methods and management—the cost of making and operating, the capitalization, the charge for freight and passenger traffic; everything necessary to give the American a chance to solve our transportation problem.

But the gifted author does not stop here; she has accumulated a mass of evidence to show the greed and hurtful power of these great corporations, and the dangers of our present railway system to the republic itself. A more important volume has not issued from the American press.

JOHN P. STELLE, Nat. Lect. F. M. B. A.

VI. J. HARPER.

"Railroads of Europe and America" is a valuable contribution to the great transportation question.

The formulation of the statistical portion is the best we have seen. The wrong mode of construction, by a vast debt system, is shown in graphic style. The terrible policy of first mortgage, second mortgage, stocks—till a road is loaded with three times the amount of actual cost, is plainly shown. And this superstructure of fraud and water and some money, is used as the calculator, to extort from the people a rate that robs the producer and consumer, and makes "kings of the rail" out of the inhuman gains of these franchises.

A set of men — say forty — get a charter, and become a corporation to construct a public highway. The road is to cost ten thousand dollars a mile, and these forty men have the money to accomplish the undertaking.

Here begins the crookedness that the writer shows so clearly. The corporators form a board of managers for this corporation, selected from their own numbers. Then they form themselves into another body called a "construction company." Next the railroad company lets a contract to the construction company, to build and equip the road. Here we have forty persons, so arranged as to have "two heads" and no soul.

The road is bonded for ten thousand dollars a mile. The bonds are placed on the market and bought at their face — *by the forty*. They give these first mortgage bonds to the construction company as pay, in part, for the building of the road. Then follow the second mortgage bonds, ten thousand dollars a mile, which the same corporators buy, and they are turned over to the construction company. So now they have their ten thousand dollars in money and twenty thousand dollars in bonds — at interest. Following, as an "easement," ten thousand dollars a mile is issued as "stock," and divided between the forty, to trade on.

By this time the road is completed and running — cost ten thousand dollars a mile, in *fact*; is running, as hypothecated, *on thirty thousand dollars a mile, all on interest*; with a board of managers, made up out of the forty, salaried from fifty thousand dollars, for president, down to "hay appraiser" — a county seat lawyer *with a pass*.

This is the present railroad system — without heart, without soul, without mercy. The general name of this legally created hydra is "*credit mobilier*," a foreign word; but as this country is run by foreigners, an unknown language must be used. All this is shown masterfully by the writer.

Humanity radiates the pages, as stars glint the firmament. The natural rights of man form the soul of the work, not the vested rights of property. The first is made the master, the second the servant.

In the next place the new mode that is to uproot the present is presented. And here the writer is as graphic as before. The idea of human life and its sacredness finds place in this book, and the wanton, cruel waste of it by this self-seeking monster, as now conducted, is shown to be crime, in too many cases amounting to murder.

The grouping of facts, history, detail, is grand, showing beyond successful contradiction that the present corporate ownership must give place to people ownership, and that corporate operating of these public franchises must also give place to government operating by a railroad department, like other government departments.

On this railroad question we have for years, like the cow-catcher on the locomotive, been at the front, and we challenge those in favor of the present mode — from construction, in every branch, to operating, in

every detail—to meet the facts. *The book will stand the test.* It throws a stream of light into the cesspool of railroad grabbing that is as bright as an electrical jet would be in chaos. "The rail and iron horse" in all lands have been examined, and the conclusion has been reached, the truth demonstrated, that corporate greed is more than honest production can bear.

Besides all this, it is spread out in detail of a thousand varied forms and shapes, in reach and within the comprehension of the great plain people. There is no more romance about it than there is in a dictionary. It touches on every phase of railroadng, and has looked upon the face of the whole earth in gathering the material. The statistics of it and the logic of it are in straight line with justice and humanity, presenting a system that will help develop nature, happify homes, and make our country the beacon light of the world. The present system, as now "manipulated," is a romance more turgid than the great epic of Baron Munchausen, or the Iliad of the golden egg of Wall Street, and as destitute of humanity as Sahara is of water.

The style of the book is smooth and readable throughout. No attempt is made to mount Pegasus and break through the Milky Way, but in passing, the author throws out great chunks of truth, as if that *rara avis* were to come into common use. The writer is entitled to the thanks of the people, for furnishing them with a text-book to educate, to help them master one of the mighty questions of the age.

Three cents a mile for freight, and one cent a mile for passengers, will keep the roads up to standard running order, and pay liberal wages to the operating force.

J. HARPER.

SHORT TALKS ON CHARACTER BUILDING.*

As the title implies, this manual is fraught with advice as to how to live the higher life, this end to be attained by constant studious examination and control of self.

It is truly set forth that instructors in our educational institutions adhere in too undeviating a manner to established school curriculums. They more often train the intellectual faculties of the scholar, to the detriment and neglect of the moral elements. The characteristic inherent powers of each individual pupil are not seriously noted and developed to insure a complete and successful fulfilment of his normal and destined position in life.

So also, as a rule, the tender and careful study of child nature is omitted by parents in the home. Worldly and ambitious desires would wrench from the soul its eternal heritage, a pure, exalted character.

This volume is not offered by the writer as a literary achievement, but simply claims notice for the thought expressed. Indeed, from a*

* "Short Talks on Character Building." By G. T. Howerton, M. S. Cloth; pp. 223; price, \$1.25. Fowler & Wells Company, 27 East Twenty-first Street, New York.

literary point of view, the book lacks finish. The frontispiece is badly executed, and the cuts throughout are not what they should be.

The author is a graduate of the American Institute of Phrenology, and founder of the Phreno-Normal College at Buena Vista, Miss. He employs the philosophy of phrenology in his teachings, and regards it as a valuable basis in the study and delineation of human nature.

LITERARY NOTES.

Helen Gardener's new book of essays, "Facts and Fictions of Life," has just appeared. It will be reviewed at length in an early issue of *THE ARENA*. The volume contains "Sex in Brain," the magnificent paper read by Miss Gardener before the Woman's Congress at the World's Fair; also "Woman as an Annex," "Moral Responsibility of Woman in Heredity," and "Heredity in its Relation to a Double Standard of Morals." It contains a number of other powerful papers which have appeared from time to time in *THE ARENA* and elsewhere. It is a work our readers will wish to possess, and I am satisfied that all persons who are in any degree in touch with the higher morality of the best minds of our time will feel that "Facts and Fictions of Life" is an indispensable acquisition to the justice-generating literature of the present.

Mrs. Margaret B. Peeke's remarkable story, "Zenith the Vestal," is meeting with very large sales. It is doubtful if any novel dealing with the highest occultism, and so expensive a work (the price being two dollars) has ever scored such an instantaneous success. Nor is the work proving a disappointment to readers. Its moral teachings, the beauty of its diction, the clearness with which great psychic laws and truths are elucidated, must prove helpful as well as entertaining. One correspondent writes, "It has opened a new world to me."

I wish to call the attention of our readers again to the Honorable Ignatius Donnelly's latest novel, "The Golden Bottle." It is a book for the hour. Every man, woman, and child interested in the money question and other great problems which are now demanding recognition should read this powerful and fascinating work. It is a slogan cry for the oppressed. It exposes the fallacy of the position of monometallists and unmasks their methods, and outlines important measures for present relief and the securing of permanent justice for the wealth producer. It is a book which every reader of *THE ARENA* should possess.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- * "BRADDOCK, A STORY OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS," by John R. Musick. Cloth; pp. 470; price, \$1.50. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

"THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS," by Charles Sumner. Cloth; pp. 132; price, 75 cents. Published by Lee & Shepard, Publishers, 10 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.

"BIBLICAL ESCHATOLOGY," by Henry Theodore Cheever, D. D. Pp. 241; price, paper, \$1; cloth, \$1.25. Published by Lee & Shepard, Publishers, 10 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.

"THE VYVYANS," by Andree Hope. Paper; pp. 217. Published by Rand, McNally & Co., Publishers, Chicago, Ill.

"PEN PICTURES OF THE WORLD'S FAIR," by Samuel P. Putnam. Paper; pp. 146; price, 25 cents. Published by the Truth Seeker Company, 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

"THE ATHLETE'S CONQUEST," by B. A. McFadden. Paper, pp. 295; price, 50 cents. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"THE STAR AND THE CLOUD," by A. S. Roe. Paper, pp. 410. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"GOLD," by Laura Daintrey. Paper; pp. 316; price, 50 cents. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"A CHANGED HEART," by May Agnes Fleming. Paper; pp. 480. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"THE DREAD VOYAGE." Poems, by William Wilfred Campbell. Cloth; pp. 190. Published by William Briggs, Toronto, Can.

"JACKKNIFE AND BRAMBLES," by Atticus G. Haygood, Sr. Cloth; pp. 308. Published by the Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South Nashville, Tenn.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN: WAS HE A CHRISTIAN?" by John B. Remsburg. Pp. 336; price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1. Published by the Truth Seeker Company, New York.

"FACTS AND FICTIONS OF LIFE," by Helen H. Gardener. Pp. 269; price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

"NINIAN, NEEKOSH, AND THE PILLSBURY SCHOOLMISTRESS." Published by Herald Publishing Company, Winona, Minn.

"THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE," by Dr. Paul Carus. Paper; pp. 163; price, 25 cents. Published by the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.

"JOSEPH ZALMONAH," by Edward King. Paper; pp. 365; price, 50 cents. Published by Lee & Shepard, Publishers, 10 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.

"THOUGHTS ON THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION," by Montague R. Levenson. Paper; pp. 114; price, 50 cents. Published by S. & D. A. Huebsch, 320 Pearl Street, New York.

"THE OTHER SIDE," by Virginia Frazer Boyle. Cloth; pp. 64; price, \$1. Published by the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.

"A TERRIBLE FAMILY," by Florence Warden. Paper; pp. 311; price, 50 cents. Published by the International News Company, New York.

"THE RAILROAD QUESTION," by William Larrabee. Cloth; pp. 488. Published by the Schulte Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.

"SEVENTY YEARS ON THE FRONTIER, ALEXANDER MAJOR'S MEMOIRS OF A LIFETIME ON THE BORDER." Edited by Colonel Prentiss Ingraham. Pp. 325; price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1. Published by Rand, McNally & Co., Publishers, Chicago, Ill.

"BUFFALO BILL." Compiled by John M. Burke. Pp. 275; price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1. Published by Rand, McNally & Co., Publishers, Chicago, Ill.

"THE SCIENCE OF MECHANICS," by Dr. Ernst J. McCormack. Cloth; pp. 534; price, \$2.50. Published by the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.

"FOUR CENTURIES AFTER, OR HOW I DISCOVERED EUROPE," by Ben Holt. Cloth; pp. 341; price, \$1.50. Published by Brentano's Publishing Department, 28 Union Square, New York.

"ABNORMAL MAN, BEING ESSAYS ON EDUCATION AND CRIME AND RELATED SUBJECTS," by Arthur MacDonald. Paper; pp. 445. Published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"ANIMALS' RIGHTS," by Henry S. Salt. Cloth; pp. 162. Published by George Bell & Son, York Street, Covent Garden, and New York.

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE ARENA FOR 1894.

A few Attractions of Special Interest to Thoughtful Americans.

It is as yet too early to make anything like a full announcement of the strong features and special attractions for 1894 which, we believe, will make this review for the ensuing year incomparably the most vital and attractive magazine of opinion published in the English language.

We desire, however, to briefly announce a few features which will appeal with peculiar force to those persons who think for themselves, and who prefer to be in the van rather than camp followers in the onward march of humanity.

I. The New Bible.

A discussion of what is known as the "Higher Criticism" by leading orthodox divines of America and Europe.

This series of papers will do much to correct the confusion existing in the public mind as to the real attitude of the scholarly advocates of "Higher Criticism" who are among the most religious men of our time, and who are also leading thinkers in the church. These men have been misunderstood by both conservatives and liberals; and to correct this misapprehension, as well as to give to the world the grand panorama of truth which they have divined, we have had this important series of papers prepared for the readers of THE ARENA. One of the first contributions will be from the pen of Professor William Sanday, A. M., D. D., LL. D., Dean Ireland's professor of exegesis, Oxford, Eng. A second will be contributed by Prof. Washington Gladden, D. D. Two very brilliant and interesting papers are by Rev. F. B. Vrooman, of the Salem Street Congregational Church of Worcester, Mass. Mr. Vrooman's education in Harvard University in this country and Oxford, Eng., has peculiarly



REV. F. B. VROOMAN.

fitted him for the task of writing clearly and forcibly on "The New Bible." He will also give an interesting paper on "Some Leaders of the Movement for the Higher Criticism." Another paper belonging to this series deals with "Higher Criticism in the Catholic Church," and will excite general interest, as it contains many facts little known as regards the extent of this movement within the Roman church. It is prepared by Merwin-Marie Snell, who for ten years has been the private secretary of Bishop Keane of the University of Washington. It is therefore authoritative as well as scholarly.

This is merely a preliminary notice of this important series of papers. A full announcement will be made later. Thinking people who are awake to the wonderful activity of this movement within the Christian world will appre-



MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

ciate the value of these important contributions, which reflect the views of a large number of the ripest scholars among the theologians of our day.

II. Ascent of Life, or the Psychic Laws and Force in Nature, by STINSON JARVIS.

This is a brilliant philosophical discussion of life from the point of view of a scholar who is strictly scientific in his methods, who believes in reason and also in the spiritual perceptions implanted in man.



STINSON JARVIS.

In six papers Mr. Jarvis discusses the great problem of life as viewed by evolutionists; without being dogmatic he is positive, and what is more important, his deductions are strictly scientific, and presented in a lucid and engaging manner. They are as entertaining as a powerful romance, and the chapters giving his experiments in hypnotism will be absorbingly interesting to all readers, while scientists, theologians, and all who are deeply interested in the great problem of life will find here a veritable mine of wealth.

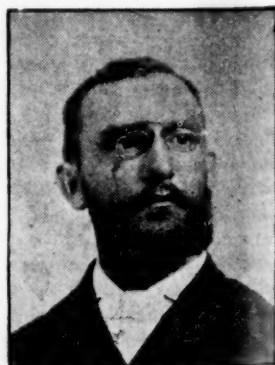
The author is a pronounced evolutionist, and brings the results of his long and profound study of physical science to bear upon the problem. He does not indulge in guesses or transcendental speculations; every statement is postulated on demonstrable facts, and all deductions are in strict alignment with accepted truths or facts which may be readily verified. The author is a most successful hypnotizer, and has conducted a series of interesting and valuable experiments which are given as throwing important light on the question. He has also made the great religions of the world and the history of mankind the subject of patient research, which materially aids him in his discussions. While these papers will prove absorbingly interesting to all readers of *THE ARENA*, scientists, those interested in psychology and psychical science, and theologians will be specially interested, as the series will, we believe, prove the most philosophic discussion of the problem of life which has appeared in years.

III. Popular Papers on Emergency-Surgery, by WILLIAM THORNTON PARKER, M.D.

These papers are of great practical value, as after perusing them our readers will be acquainted with the latest and best methods of proceeding in case of accidents, such as wounds, hemorrhages, burns, sprains, dislocation, the treatment of those apparently drowned, those suffering from collapse or apoplexy, and those who have been poisoned. These papers are as follows:—

I. General Anatomy. A brief but comprehensive survey of this subject, to render the subsequent papers intelligible without further explanation.

II. Treatment of wounds in general, including hemorrhages, burns, scalds, etc.



PROFESSOR WILLIAM THORNTON
PARKER, M.D.

III. Treatment of fractures, sprains, dislocations, also giving explicit directions for the use of the triangular bandage.

IV. The treatment of those apparently drowned and of those suffering from shock, collapse, apoplexy, with observations on the care of those who have been poisoned.

These papers are scholarly, yet practical; and while not in any sense so technical as to render them incomprehensible to those not versed in medicine and surgery, they will give our readers the most advanced and improved methods of treatment in cases of emergency. They contain a vast amount of vitally important information which every intelligent person should know.

IV. The Civilization of To-morrow.

A series of scholarly papers, dealing with heredity, prenatal influences, early environment of the child, home influence, and what the schools should give the child, will be a strong feature of *THE ARENA* for 1894. This review has always aimed to reach the root causes of evils and to prove suggestive to the thoughtful. It has sought to make men and women independent, brave, and broad minded. The papers appearing under the general title of "The Civilization of To-morrow" will be specially valuable to parents and teachers. Special announcements under this caption will be made later. One of the first papers will be from the brilliant pen of Helen Gardener, and will treat of heredity. This gifted author will contribute several articles to *THE ARENA* for 1894.

V. The Wisdom of India, by Dr. HEINRICH HENSOLDT.

A series of striking papers by a German naturalist who has spent ten years in Ceylon, India, Burmah, and Thibet. Dr. Heinrich Hensoldt visited Ceylon with a fellow student in natural science, intending to make an exhaustive study of the remains of the ancient civilization of that wonderful island which evidently, with Madagascar, once formed a part of a mighty continent, the greater portion of which is to-day the bed of the Indian Ocean. His fellow scientist died shortly after reaching Ceylon, but Dr. Hensoldt remained in India for over ten years. On leaving Germany he was a pronounced materialist, but in the far East he formed the acquaintance of many learned men and sages, and while there witnessed some marvellous phenomena. He also made a careful study of the beliefs of the Brahmins and Buddhists of India, learning their philosophy from some of their eminent sages. Dr. Hensoldt has prepared for *THE ARENA* the following papers, which will be an important feature of the next volume:—



DR. HEINRICH HENSOLDT.

- I. "The Remains of an Ancient Civilization, or the Ruined Cities of Ceylon."
- II. "Among the Adepts of Serinagur."
- III. "Occult Science in Thibet."
- IV. "Glimpses of Eastern Wonderland, or Five Weeks with a Hermit in the Neilgherry Mountains."
- V. "The Wonders of Hindoo Magic."
- VI. "The Secret Doctrine of the Brahmins."

These papers are very scholarly. They come from the pen of a naturalist who was a pronounced materialist when he left Germany, and coming from such a source they will be peculiarly interesting and valuable.

VI. Social, Economic, and Political Discussions.

THE ARENA for 1894 will present masterly papers on the great vital social, economic, and political problems which are so profoundly agitating the public mind of to-day. It will give no space to the mock issues which are raised to deceive the people by those who are interested in maintaining unjust conditions by vicious legislation, nor will it occupy valuable space threshing the old straw of dead or profitless issues. On all the real live questions and all those which will be the overmastering problems of the future, THE ARENA will lead the van of thought. The Honorable Ignatius Donnelly, author of "Caesar's Column" and "The Golden Bottle," Honorable John Davis, M. C., Hamlin Garland, W. D. McCrackan, A. M., and other able thinkers will contribute to early numbers of THE ARENA. Special announcement will be made in season.

VII. Hypnotism as a Therapeutic Agent.

A series of important papers by scholarly physicians who have employed hypnotism with marked success in the treatment of disease, will be an important feature in the next volume of THE ARENA. These papers will be of great value and interest to all thoughtful people. The opening contribution will be from the pen of James R. Cocke, M. D., who after having graduated from the Boston University School of Medicine (homœopathic) completed a post-graduate course in Harvard. Dr. Cocke has met with marked success in hypnotic treatment. He is a scholarly physician, rigidly scientific in methods. His narration of important cases in which hypnotism has been successfully employed is very interesting and valuable, furnishing additional evidence of the power of mind.

VIII. Papers by Helen H. Gardener.

During 1894, the brilliant essayist and powerful novelist, Helen H. Gardener, will prepare papers on "Heredity," on "Social Purity," and "The Rights of Woman within the Marriage Relation." The readers of THE ARENA are so thoroughly conversant with the masterly work of this brilliant writer that it is needless to mention the fact that these papers will be a feature of special value.



HELEN GARDENER.

IX. Educational.

We propose to give during the ensuing year many notable papers on education, its varying phases, its needs and requirements — papers which will be very helpful to educators, teachers, and the young.

X. Biographical Papers, Stories, Character Sketches and Prose Etchings

will be features of THE ARENA for next year, and in fact all the excellences of THE ARENA of the past will be retained, including fine portraits of leading thinkers, while every possible effort will be put forth to make it stronger and abler than any other magazine of opinion in America.

Special announcements will be made at the proper time. The papers mentioned above are merely a few of the strong attractions which will be features of THE ARENA for the ensuing year. We propose to make this Review for 1894 absolutely indispensable to every one except the fossils.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Psychology of Crime.

IN this issue we publish one of Mr. Henry Wood's brilliant essays. It is entitled "The Psychology of Crime," and should be perused by all our readers. Mr. Wood occupies a high position as a thinker and essayist. He is a leader among the metaphysical scholars of our time. His "Ideal Suggestion" is one of the most masterly presentations of the claims of mental healing ever made, while his "God's Image in Man" reveals a high order of intuitional mind, which grasps and elucidates with ease the subtleties of metaphysics. "Edward Burton" is one of the most wholesome and delightful novels of our time.

A Ready Financial Relief.

I desire to invite the attention of our readers to Mr. Van Ornum's admirable paper, "A Ready Financial Relief." Mr. Van Ornum evinced great power and breadth of thought in his recent work, "Why Government at All?" In the present paper he discusses a problem in which all Americans are deeply interested at the present time.

A Strong Paper by Rabbi Schindler.

We have awaiting publication a very strong paper from the pen of Rabbi Solomon Schindler, entitled "Thoughts in an Orphan Asylum." It is one of the ablest and most striking papers this eminent thinker has written. It is very socialistic in its trend, but contains much food for reflection, as indeed does everything from Rabbi Schindler's pen.

Richard Proctor.

IN this issue we publish a critical sketch of Richard A. Proctor by Rev. Howard MacQueary. Mr. Proctor was one of the scientific Titans of our age, and his untimely death in New York was an international loss.

Preliminary Announcements.

We give elsewhere some preliminary announcements of a few of the good

things we have in store for our readers. Next month being the last issue of the present volume, we will have a fuller list of attractions. It is our determination to make THE ARENA for 1894 a library of the ablest vital thought of our time, and consequently absolutely indispensable to thoughtful people.

Rev. W. E. Manley, D. D., on Aionian Punishment.

One of the most thoughtful and profound biblical scholars of our country, a man whose scholarship has enabled him to read the Bible in twelve different languages, discusses aionian punishment in this issue. Dr. Manley meets the question on biblical grounds.

Mrs. General Pickett's Sketch.

IN this number of THE ARENA we introduce our readers to one of the most distinguished among our Southern ladies, Mrs. Lasalle Corbell Pickett, widow of the eminent Southern general. Mrs. Pickett's character sketch is one of the finest pieces of work in negro dialect ever published. Soon this dialect will only be a memory with us, save in the rare specimens of really true work along this line.

Mr. Trumbull's Paper.

SINCE Judge Gary has felt called upon to lay aside the ermine that he might indulge in some special pleading against the anarchists who have been dead for many years, and since he resorts to sensational cuts and emotional appeals to the prejudice of conventionalism rather than confining himself to a legal view of the case of the dead men, it is eminently proper that so able and broad-minded a thinker as Mr. Trumbull should give the other side, through the columns of the review which has ever sought to give a hearing to the lowliest and most unpopular, when their rights seemed disregarded or when justice was denied them. I trust all friends of THE ARENA will carefully peruse Mr. Trumbull's review of this celebrated case.

A Serious Word to Those Who Love Their Fellow-men.

Since the foundation of THE ARENA our friends have contributed more than three thousand dollars, which has been carefully disbursed in such a way as to bring relief to the suffering and aid to those seeking a firm foundation on life's highway. The great problem of slum life still confronts us; but I believe an educational agitation to be now in progress which will eventuate in the abolition of conditions which make slums possible. Before that glad day shall arrive, however, thousands upon thousands of starving fellow-men will sink to death with bitterness in their hearts and curses on their lips, while untold thousands of children will be born into a world of vice, degradation, misery, and crime, many of whom will become a charge to the state through crime, disease, or pauperism.

Now there is a solemn duty resting on every individual reader of THE ARENA, and that duty is, to aid every intelligent effort to save the living and rescue the coming generation, while we keep up this constant educational agitation. I have no sympathy with the selfish position of many reformers, who say, Let the sinking sink, and devote all attention to a change of economic conditions which will render uninvited poverty impossible. No one believes more thoroughly than I do in working steadfastly and continuously for those great economic changes which rest on justice and will secure an equality of opportunity for all God's children, and which must and will come. But the duty along this line does not absolve us from the duty to our suffering neighbors who are to-day sinking. During the past three years the friends of humanity who belong to our family of readers have, through THE ARENA fund, started many persons on the pathway of honest endeavor who would otherwise, unquestionably, have sunk into vice and crime. They have given clothes to the naked and food to the starving, and in hundreds of ways made life brighter, happier, and better.

Now I wish to call the attention of

every reader to a work of vital importance, at present in progress, and one which I am sure will receive the cordial support of our friends.

Some months ago I reviewed a remarkable social vision entitled "Ai." It described the reclamation of the slums through the earnest personal work of a noble-souled man called Ai and a band of zealous followers, who moved into the slums and lived with the unfortunates, making the cause of the down-trodden their own, and elevating and transforming the slums until the old order disappeared. The book is one of the most helpful as well as charmingly interesting stories I have read in years, and it is so replete in suggestive hints for practical philanthropists that its extensive circulation would result in great good.

The author of the work, Mr. Charles Daniel, has recently moved into the slums of Philadelphia with his wife and three children, establishing what is known as a "University Settlement" among the very poor. In this way a gentleman of culture and refinement, and his wife and children have imitated the example of Jesus, by mingling and dwelling with the wretched and those from whom conventionality has ever withdrawn with lofty contempt. Only true heroism will lead to such a life of sacrifice. Only the deepest love for humanity will lead a man to run the risk of his children and loved wife falling the victims of contagion by residing in such a quarter, and the practical work now being carried out by Mr. Daniel cannot fail to prove far-reaching and humanity-uplifting in its influence. No friend of the race can afford to refuse to aid in the grand work undertaken by Mr. Daniel. You may not be able to give much, but every penny counts. There is a kindergarten to be started, and a workshop for boys.

I ask every reader of this article, when he has finished it, to candidly ask himself how much he can afford for this glorious work of practical religion, this work of seeking and saving the individual, and elevating to a higher plane thousands of lives. You may not be able to give

much, but can you not give *something*? If so, do not put it off, or you will be liable to neglect it altogether. Send in your contributions promptly, and I will see that they are forwarded to Mr. Daniel, whose acknowledgments will be published from month to month, together with hints and news items about the settlement. The editor of THE ARENA has opened this subscription with ten dollars, the receipt of which has been acknowledged. How many friends will help in pushing forward this work?

Those interested in this movement will enjoy the following description of Mr. Daniel's home on Minster Street in the slums of Philadelphia, and the progress of the work, as well as the spirit which pervades the broad and unsectarian endeavor to elevate and render happier the lives of those who are dwelling in the shadow of misery. The facts given below are culled from Mr. Daniel's little leaflet, *The Nazarene*, which bears as its motto the following excellent line, "He that will not reason is a bigot; he that cannot reason is a fool, and he that dares not reason is a fool."

The house was an undesirable one, the cellar filled with water emitting unpleasant and dangerous odors. The yard had a filthy well, out-buildings were in a state of decay, and all were overrun with vermin. The occupants became disgusted with both the house and the neighborhood, and moved after a short stay. It had been long occupied by families of colored people.

This house was secured and workmen set to work. The walls were scraped and disinfected. Two rooms were added by enclosing a side area. All was underdrained, and it is now the only house in the street with a bathroom. The well was cleaned and filled, and yard fenced and graded. A little pavilion was erected, and a swing will soften the ruggedness of the life. A boy remarked, "They have a yard just like on an excursion."

A little lumber was left over, so the posts were given to the people of a wretched court whose children were envious. They will now have a swing of their own, although the Settlement swing will welcome the children of the neighborhood.

After the workmen left the house it was an object of beauty, and yet it was only the old house rebuilt. Mr. Daniel, with his wife and three children, is now occupying it, and the work of the Settlement has commenced. Such things have their good influences.

During the reconstruction the news got abroad that a clergyman was to occupy the house, and they seemed amazed and said, "Well, we need

it." The improvements were a constant object lesson. It could have been rented a dozen times to persons who would appreciate clean places if they were to be had. The old house rebuilt and beautified is only the beginning of another regeneration in the individuals, their homes, and the neighborhood.

Next door is a small church, which has also been secured. The basement, when refitted, will make an excellent place for work among boys and girls. A kindergarten is contemplated, and various agencies for the general uplifting of the youth will be set on foot.

Mr. Daniel worked for a whole month with the workmen. He handled the saw, hammer, pick, shovel, trowel, paint brush, and broom. The Settlement idea is one of personal interest and service, a sympathy with men in their daily lives. This was carried out in this rebuilding. More is now known of the working man, what he can do and what he cannot do, his wages and his thoughts, and the perplexities of getting things done. Such contact with men is a liberal education; and it is this education that is necessary to solve the vexed question of the proper relation which we sustain to our neighbor. The Settlement idea will go far towards solving the question. More of this house rebuilt hereafter.

Additional notes from the magazine:—

The news of the swing on the pavilion, "just like on an excursion," soon spread, and the children were anxious to try it. So six boys and three girls, all barefooted, were enticed out of the gutter through the alley gate to the pavilion, where they waited their turn in alphabetical order to get each his turn on the swing. They took turns in serving others. Then a little informal talk followed on the duty of serving one another, kindness, orderliness, winding up with an object lesson on the old house rebuilt, and the different trades and men it took to build it.

They then filed out in an orderly way with a hearty good night. No one had the slightest suspicion that he had been to Sunday school that Thursday night.

This work among children ought to appeal to the children in homes of plenty and luxury. One thousand children giving one dollar each would support it for a whole year. Mr. Daniel will set aside \$600 for the maintenance of his family for the first year. There is no promised support, and the work was begun because it was necessary, and with the hope that so useful a work could not lack friends.

This Settlement, or mission, recognizes the principle that we are members one of another, and if one member suffers all suffer. This personal contact has its advantages which work out results in a variety of ways which will be discussed from time to time.

Friends and workers for the happiness of our fellow-men and the elevation of our common humanity, will you not all come and help in this noble effort to practically carry out the loftiest of all religions — the religion of deeds? I

would also suggest that each reader should send for a copy of "Ai," which will unfold fully the scope and plan of this work. It sells in paper for 50 cents, in cloth for \$1.

The Fund for the Rev. George Vaughn.

In the August ARENA I made a strong appeal for the Rev. George Vaughn. I have received the following since the last acknowledgments:—

From friends, Findlay, O. . . .	\$1.00
E. T. Hiscox, Saratoga, N. Y. . . .	5.00
D. A. Roberts, Columbus, O.50
Emma Sanford, Knoxville, Tenn.25
	<hr/>
	\$6.75
Previously acknowledged, \$34.40	
+ \$10.	44.40
	<hr/>
Total	\$51.15

This amount has been given to Mr. Vaughn to aid in securing a home. Our friends will remember that we asked for two hundred dollars, but as only one quarter has been paid we deem it wisest to turn over this amount to Mr. Vaughn, as our readers have had the case laid before them and the opportunity given to contribute.

The Church of Humanity.

A society has already been formed in Philadelphia upon the line indicated in "Union for Practical Progress." Below I give the announcement printed by the society:—

THE CHURCH OF HUMANITY.

Why a Church?

In issuing our declaration of principles we owe it to all, whose co-operation we seek, to give our reasons for so doing, and why we add yet another to the many already existing associations.

We are a "church," and so called because we are religionists—"To do good is our religion." Our faith is, "The brotherhood of man," and our aim is nothing short of the realization of that brotherhood on earth.

We do not believe, but emphatically ignore, the doctrine that an all-wise Being ordained the co-existence of the patrician and the plebeian. We recognize no law of a Divine Providence which makes the favored few the possessors of wealth, culture, luxury, and ease, and consigns the many to poverty and its inseparable trail of misery and crime.

The unnecessary evils of excessive wealth and prevalent misery are of man's creation, and can

only be removed by man's agency; not by prayer and fasting can these evils be cast out of society, but by the practical belief and application of the Golden Rule—"Love thy neighbor as thyself." We gratefully acknowledge all that philanthropy has done; but we maintain that all institutions needed by the people should be the work and property of the people.

It is the wealth of labor, no matter who appropriates it, that builds, endows, and maintains every institution, religious or secular, charitable or industrial. We assert that it is an unrighteous anomaly that tens of thousands of the *wealth-earning* class should be dependent, almost for their very existence, on the so-called benevolence of the *wealth-absorbing* class.

Under the reign of brotherhood one twentieth part of the hospitals and kindred institutions now existing would probably more than meet all requirements, for the obvious reason that the cruel competition for means to live is a prolific source of sickness, accident, and premature death. It is also the parent of intemperance and crime. Under a sound economic system, and the true civilization it would evolve, there would be no necessity for the bestowal of charity in any shape or form; and when the true light dawns, our present charitable institutions will be seen to have been only remedial and palliative makeshifts for evils of our own assiduous cultivation in the fields of selfishness and mammon. The excellent institutions which the provident working classes have established, known as sick benefit and burial societies, would not be needed under the reign of brotherhood, although they are, to-day, the best manifestations of the principle of human brotherhood, with which religious organizations have nothing to compare. The poor-house and potter's field of to-day will, by a happier posterity, be looked back upon as foul blots on human (or inhuman) history, hardly exceeded in their brutal depravity by savage man in his lowest estate.

We contend that brotherhood does not exist, except in theory, even in the church communities of to-day, and that it is an impossibility, so long as each individual is engaged in competitive warfare with his fellow-man for the means to live—"his hand against every man and every man's hand against him."

The gospel of humanity embraces the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and as it cannot be secured under any form of political government, while competition fosters individual grasping of wealth, we are pledged to advocate and promulgate by all legitimate means, and as far as possible put into practice, the principles of fraternal co-operation in the creation and distribution of wealth. This inalienable right is set forth in the American Declaration of Independence, but it is yet only a prospective right in the life of the great American nation; but as the truth "that all men are born equal before God," was only prospective for a hundred years after its acceptance in theory, asserted itself in the extinction of chattel slavery, so shall the whole truth pass from the realm of theory into practical life, and white slavery shall

die as surely as chattel slavery is now a thing of the past, to the advantage of the present slaveholder as well as the slave. The capitalist and monopolist would act wisely to prepare the way for the glorious inevitable, by profit sharing and other methods, for only by so doing can the good will of men be secured and the danger of violent revolution be averted.

There shall come from out this strife and groaning
A broader and a juster brotherhood.
A deep equality of aim, postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
There shall come a time when each shall to
another,
Be as Christ would have him — brother unto
brother.

There shall come a time when brotherhood shows
stronger
Than the narrow bounds which now distract
the world.
When the cannons roar and trumpets blare no
longer,
And the ironclad rusts, and battle flags are
furled.
When the bars of creed and speech and race
which sever,
Shall be fused in one humanity forever.

—Lewis Morris.

Duty of Society to Children.

It is the highest duty of society to secure the right to life and to fit for the pursuit of true happiness every child born, irrespective of all circumstances of birth. Each child is a gift from the Author of life to the living family of men—a God-child to the race, and the race, through and by the community to which it is given, is, morally, sponsor for all its natural rights.

As brotherhood is the one faith of humanity, so this sponsorship should be its one baptism wherein a child is recognized and formally admitted as a member of the human family and an inheritor of the kingdom of life. The violation of this obligation is the primary cause of the slaughter of tens of thousands of innocents annually, by infanticide and the still more cruel instrumentalities of slow death from the lack of proper nourishment, and exposure to pestilence that walketh at noon-day, invited and superinduced by all the wretchedness which poverty is heir to.

As our fifth declaration states, this obligation of the living to the new-born includes provision of conditions for the preservation and sustaining of life; education to the fullest extent attainable, in due time, fitting employment for all able to work, and equal advantages to all, able and disabled, as the result of the collective labor done. Under such a system only can there be brotherhood, and man fulfil his lawful destiny on earth and woman hers.

Incentive to Labor.

The man or woman endowed the most lavishly with nature's gifts should use them as talents bestowed for general good, and not for the gratification of personal ambition or the accumulation of individual wealth. Under the reign of brotherhood there would be, to such persons, the greatest and noblest incentive to labor, not in millions of

dollars, as now, to the impoverishment of others, and to the detriment, morally and spiritually, of themselves, but in the love of grateful fellow-men and the fruition of their work for the good of all; their names would go on the scroll of fame, not in letters of gold but in lines of imperishable love.

The loafer and the idle — weeds of our own cultivation — would soon cease to exist, and the few we should inherit from the present system would experience a new birth, for none could resist its quickening power when labor, so long pronounced man's curse, shall be recognized as the one honorable condition of life and its just reward secured.

Recognizing that the proclamation of the gospel of humanity, the cultivation of the spirit of brotherhood by fraternal association and co-operative effort, must precede any legislation that shall secure permanent good for the masses, we cordially invite the humanitarian of every sect and creed in religion, every shade of politics or political reform, to aid us in our work.

A People's Church.

We do not propose to have any one-man power, teaching, or pastorate. The Church of Humanity will be a people's church in its government and methods.

The Sunday morning meetings will be of a confessional as well as devotional character, in which every member will be free to exercise his or her gift for the good of all, under the inspiration and guidance of the spirit of brotherhood.

In the afternoon assemblies we shall cultivate refined pleasure and enjoyment, attractive alike to grave and gay, old and young.

The evening meetings we hope to render popular and instructive, by securing the most eminent lecturers (men and women) that our means will permit.

Reader, we ask no man or woman to renounce his or her religion, philosophy, politics, or favorite reform; but we earnestly ask you to unite your intellectual, moral, and spiritual force with ours in the religion, science, and philosophy of human brotherhood.

This is a step in the right direction. From the scores of letters which have been received since the publishing of "Union for Practical Progress," and Rev. Henry Frank's bugle call for freedom, it is evident that the people are ready and longing for a great national movement along the general lines proposed — a movement to establish societies that will live the brotherhood of man, that will educate the people, save the children, and develop a broad, free, progressive, universal manhood and womanhood. At a recent meeting of the Provisional Council the following resolutions were passed:—

PHILADELPHIA, Penn.

To the Editor of *The Arena*,

RESPECTED SIR: At a meeting of the Provisional Executive Council of the Church of Humanity, Philadelphia, held on Monday evening, August 13, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That we regard the magazine known as *THE ARENA* as the foremost literary advocate of human rights, and we earnestly recommend the members of the Church of Humanity to adopt methods for gratuitously circulating it among all who attend the meetings of the church.

Resolved, That we forward to the editor of *THE ARENA* a copy of the "Declaration of Principles" of the Church of Humanity, a copy of the "Exposition of Principles," and such other printed notices, etc., as shall give to him an insight into the inception of our movement, and the methods we have adopted for its furtherance, asking him to favor us with his frank opinion thereon. That we inform him we are working under a provisional organization, hoping to have accretion of strength by attracting to us noble men and women whose wisdom and experience may correct us wherein we err, and aid us to permanently organize.

Resolved, That this Council tender to Rev. Henry Frank its hearty thanks and indorsement of his able contribution to freedom's cause published in *THE ARENA* of this month, "How to Rally the Hosts of Freedom," and that we inform him of our readiness to co-operate on the lines suggested in that article. That at the inception of this movement of ours in May last, we formulated plans to put into execution as soon as practicable the various branches of work, or most of them, outlined in his excellent declaration of principles.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, together with the "Declaration of the Principles of the Church of Humanity" and other papers, be sent to Rev. Henry Frank, requesting him to favor us with his views on our effort.

With greetings on behalf of the Church of Humanity, Philadelphia.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
ELIZABETH CROMPTON.
TILLIE STIRLING.

Attested:— *Presiding Councillors.*

George H. Edwards, *Secretary*,
14 North Twenty-Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

Important Social and Economic Papers.

THE ARENA for the next year will contain a number of carefully prepared papers on the vital social, economic, and

political issues of the day. The railroad problem will be freely discussed by eminent economists who have made it a subject of years of study. Money will be broadly treated, not by those who change money for gain, and who, therefore, are always seeking to befog the general readers—that a monetary system may flourish on special privileges, enormously enriching the usurer at the expense of the few—but by broad statesmen and economists who are unpurchasable, and who have the welfare of the nation at heart. "Short Talks on Land and Its Relation to Farmer, Artisan, and Capitalist," "Special Privileges," "The Slums of our City, and How to Abolish Them"—these are a few important themes which will be treated in *THE ARENA* for 1894. Next year will in all probability be one of the most momentous in the political history of this country. "We are at the parting of ways," and the people have become weary of boggy men erected for partisan purposes. *THE ARENA* will discuss live problems, and will reflect the best thought among thinkers who are not living in the graveyards of dead issues.

Richard Proctor on Shakespeare.

In the November *ARENA* we will publish a fine portrait of the late Richard A. Proctor, together with his views on the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, written by the great astronomer when Mr. Donnelly's famous "Cryptogram" was first published, but not given to the public, as they were written by the eminent astronomer to his daughter Mary. Miss Proctor has carefully edited these letters. The paper is of great interest, and will be an important feature of the November *ARENA*. I trust that I will be able to publish the final instalment of verdicts in the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy in our next issue.

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